

*The*  
**BULLETIN**  
*of*  
**Friends Historical**  
**Association**



**QUARTERLY MEETING AT GWYNEDD**  
**A QUAKER SCHOOLMISTRESS IN THE OLD SOUTH**  
**THE NEWLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL**  
**OF ELIAS HICKS**

**Vol. 39**

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**No. 1**

## *Friends Historical Association*

**F**RRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION is devoted to the study, preservation, and publication of material relating to the history of the Society of Friends. It was founded in Philadelphia in 1873 and incorporated in 1875. A similar group, Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, founded in 1904, merged with the older body in 1923 to form an organization which has become national, even international in membership and interests, and which anyone, Friend or not, may join. Over six hundred members, in thirty states, in Canada, and abroad, belong to the ASSOCIATION. Sixty-four libraries in North America and Europe receive its principal publication, the semi-annual BULLETIN, begun in 1906; forty-four of these libraries have complete sets.

The ASSOCIATION holds two stated meetings each year, an annual meeting in Eleventh Month in Philadelphia, and a historical pilgrimage in Fifth Month to some region associated with the history of Quakerism.

Many Quaker historical relics belonging to the ASSOCIATION are on display in Philadelphia, at the Atwater Kent Museum, 15 South Seventh Street, and in Old City Hall in Independence Square.

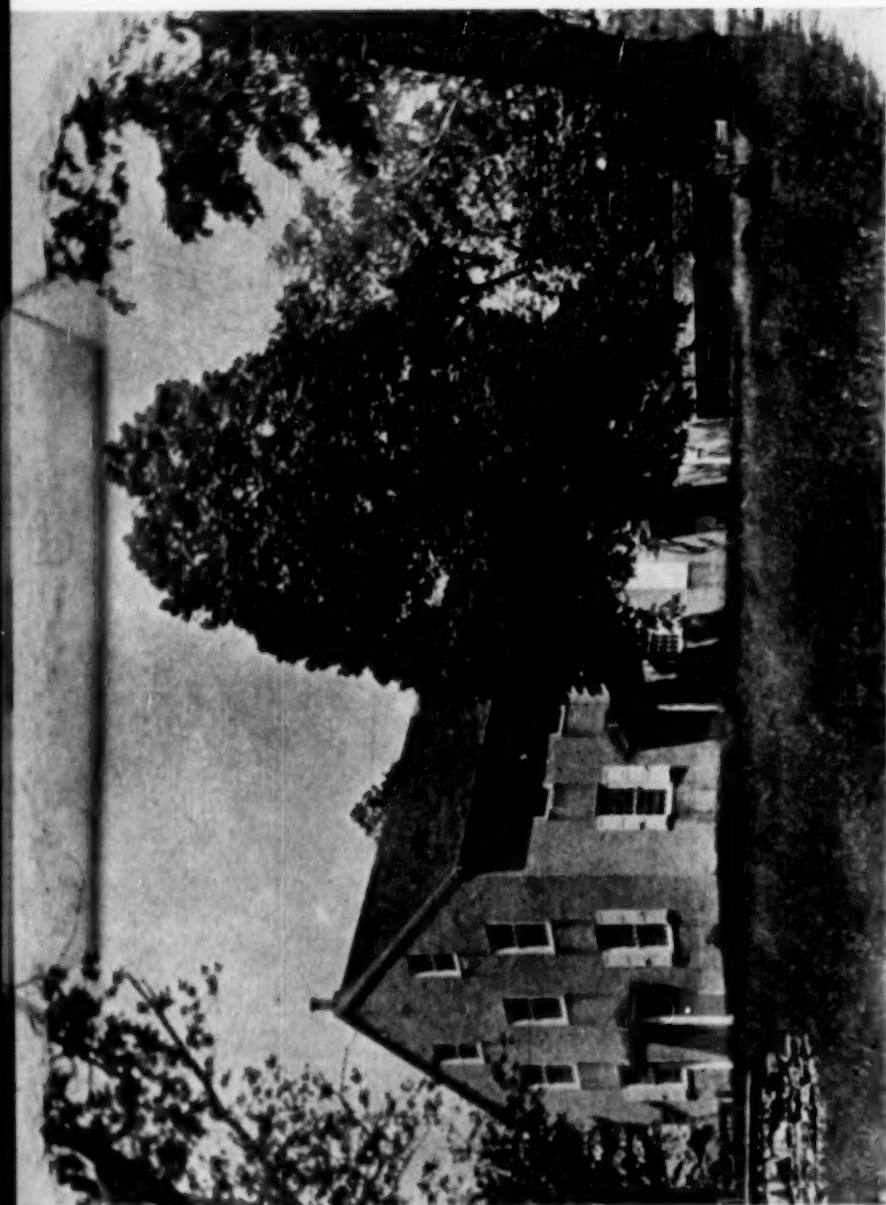
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GWYNEDD MEETINGHOUSE — as it appeared seventy years ago



# T H E B U L L E T I N O F Friends Historical Association

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QUARTERLY MEETING AT GWYNEDD  
SEVENTY YEARS AGO

BY CHARLES F. JENKINS\*

(with the assistance of Richmond P. Miller)

OF ALL the days that created a stir in Gwynedd, nothing could compare with Abington Quarterly Meeting. It was held at Gwynedd each year according to a cabalistic rule which was pure gibberish to the non-Friend: the first Fifth-day after the second First-day in Eighth Month.<sup>1</sup>

The week before Quarterly Meeting the women descended upon the meetinghouse with buckets, brooms, and soap, and literally *scrubbed* the benches, woodwork, partitions, and floor. Those who had them brought their maids along and it was a buzzing social occasion for all women Friends!

\* Charles F. Jenkins, a former President of Friends Historical Association, is the author of many books, including *Tortola: A Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics*. This article is based upon an address prepared for the 250th Anniversary of Gwynedd Meeting, Gwynedd, Pennsylvania, on Tenth Month 16, 1949. Because of illness, Charles F. Jenkins was unable to be present in person; his reminiscences were set down and presented by Richmond P. Miller.

<sup>1</sup> The Friends of Gwynedd first belonged to Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. It was not until 1786, a century after the founding of the settlement, that Abington Quarter was established. At that time it was composed of Monthly Meetings at Abington, Horsham, Gwynedd, and Richland. Seventy years ago Abington Quarterly Meeting rotated between Abington in Second Month, Horsham in the Fifth, Gwynedd in the Eighth, and Byberry in Eleventh Month.—(R.P.M.)

Walter H. Jenkins and Charles Francis Jenkins, first cousins, had "the contract to whitewash the fence" around the property. They were paid five dollars apiece and they regarded themselves as magnates to hold this contract as their share of beautifying the premises for Quarterly Meeting.

On the morning before Quarterly Meeting the men brought iron rakes and raked the turnpike—of excellent construction before the days of macadam and without a binder. From the meetinghouse to Gwynedd store and postoffice they raked the pike clear of all large stones and smoothed over the surface.

Early that same morning my uncle and I would go to the shed, get out the wagon, take out the shafts, put in the tongue, and drive down to Dock Street in Philadelphia. There we would buy Delaware peaches by the basket, just off the boats, load up and drive back to the store—a tremendous journey it seemed to me then. That evening all the other Friends would come to the store and get what they wanted for Quarterly Meeting luncheon the next day.

On the morning of Quarterly Meeting, before opening, we took brooms, swept the turnpike, and then carried watering cans and sprinkled it. By about nine o'clock we were ready. About 9:30 the carriages began to arrive from all over the Quarterly Meeting.

My grandfather had a wagon shed between his house and barn. All it did all year was to shelter what we called the Quarterly Meeting carriage. It was really a glorified Germantown wagon. For this one day it was polished and scrubbed, the harness washed and cleaned, and then we went up to the North Wales Station to meet the Quakertown Friends. They came too far to travel in a carriage. We also met some of the Byberry Friends (Byberry was so far away that not many of us often went to Quarterly Meeting there from Gwynedd).

The "first meeting," as it was called — the meeting for worship before the meeting for business — started at ten o'clock. I remember sitting on the porch of the store as a boy, three hundred yards away, and at that distance I could hear Samuel J. Levick of Quakertown intoning and ministering in the Quaker manner of bygone days.

All the sheds and woods were filled with horses and buggies, the horses impatiently stamping at the flies: even they seemed to know that it was a great annual event. I can't convey the impact on the whole community made by Quarterly Meeting at Gwynedd.

As soon as the first morning meeting was over, Friends would gather outside under the magnificent American linden tree. There the women Friends would circulate among the crowd inviting guests to their homes for luncheon. It was a great triumph to get as many visiting Friends as possible.

For that cabalistic rule had been set with great care and close attention to the Yearly Meeting, the Quarterly Meetings, and the Monthly Meetings so that it would be perfectly possible for visitors to cover a whole section of the Yearly Meeting, attending Monthly and Quarterly Meetings one day after another. Read the ancient journals and this will be demonstrated to a truly remarkable degree. It was a most ingenious method of scheduling visits and making itineraries.

And so after Quarterly Meeting, with perhaps un-Quakerly though most human pride, the women Friends would report who had the most guests. Ellen Evans had sixty-three, Daniel Foulke fifty-nine, David Foulke fifty-three, Josiah Cleaver forty-two, David Cleaver forty. The different families all had some regular guests each year. My uncle William Jenkins was married to a Hallowell, so all the Hallowells always came to our home. The Quakertown Friends always went to Algernon S. Jenkins's. Here was the menu served in all the Quaker homes:

Cold cuts of roast beef	Slices of baked ham
Potato salad	Sliced peaches with rich, thick cream.

By two o'clock the dinner was over. After visiting and talking, the carriages were harnessed up again and then Friends would go home all over the county.

Impressions are still vivid after seventy years and more: the women Friends gathering outside under the trees with: "Oh, thank thee, but I've already accepted an invitation"; the dresses of the women and their dainty black knitted silk gloves with their fingers showing; the men Friends in their austere coats and high beaver hats.

## A QUAKER SCHOOLMISTRESS IN THE OLD SOUTH

BY CHARLES H. NICHOLS, JR.\*

ON THE night of August 21, 1831, Joseph Travis, a slaveholder of Southampton, Virginia, was murdered in his bed by two slaves wielding a bloody hatchet. Travis did not live long enough to know that his wife and three children met the same fate, that seventy slaves led by his trusted servant, Nat Turner, were engaged in a violent revolt, and that eventually fifty of his white neighbors were killed.<sup>1</sup> The militia was called out, and together with three companies of artillery and men from warships brought to Fort Monroe, put down the uprising after it had run riot for forty-eight hours.<sup>2</sup> A widespread massacre of Negroes followed. News of the rebellion spread rapidly all over the land; panic gripped the slave states.

Thomas R. Gray reported that the insurrection of Nat Turner was attended with such atrocious circumstances of cruelty and destruction, as could not fail to leave a deep impression not only upon the minds of the community where this fearful tragedy was wrought, but throughout every portion of our country in which this [slave] population is to be found.<sup>3</sup>

And Fanny Kemble who lived in Georgia in 1838-1839 observed, I know that the Southern men are apt to deny the fact that they do live under an habitual sense of danger; but a slave population coerced into obedience, though unarmed and half fed is a threatening source of constant insecurity, and every Southern woman to whom I have spoken on the subject has admitted to me that they live in terror of their slaves.<sup>4</sup>

Slaveholders set about tightening the machinery of control. Citizens were compelled to do patrol duty, the status of Negroes

\* Charles H. Nichols, Jr., is Professor of English at Hampton Institute.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas R. Gray, *The Confession, Trial and Execution of Nat Turner* (Petersburg, Virginia, 1881).

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943), Chap. XII.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas R. Gray, *The Confession, Trial and Execution of Nat Turner*, p. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation* (New York, 1863), pp. 295-296.

was more sharply defined, and every effort made to restrain those who would propagate inflammatory abolitionist ideas. Slaves were defined by law as "chattels personal" to be disposed of at their masters' pleasure. A chattel had, of course, no political, civil, or personal rights. He could not testify in court except against another slave, nor could he hold property, contract marriage (or enter into any other contract), or assemble with other slaves where no white person was present. There were laws preventing persons from teaching him to read or write. He could go nowhere off the plantation without a pass. Patrols on twenty-four-hour duty were provided to enforce these restrictive laws. Should a slave refuse to "submit to and undergo the examination of any white person, it is lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend,<sup>5</sup> and moderately correct such slave, and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be lawfully killed."<sup>6</sup> Thus the citizens of the slave states were never really at peace, and their personal liberty, too, was proscribed. Wrote Frederick Law Olmsted:

In Richmond and Charleston and New Orleans, the citizens are as careless and gay as in Boston or London, and their servants a thousand times as childlike and cordial, to all appearance in their relations with them as our servants are with us. But go to the bottom of this security and dependence, and you come to police machinery such as you never find in towns under free government: citadels, sentries, passports, grape-shotted cannon, and daily public whippings for accidental infractions of police ceremonies. I happened myself to see more direct expression of Tyranny in a single day and night at Charleston, than at Naples [under Bomba] in a week.<sup>6</sup>

There is no doubt that by the 1830's the slave states were willing to go to any lengths to prevent servile rebellion, and their oppressive laws showed how profound was their fear of revolt. Politically the South closed its ranks and developed a one-party system. Slavery, once thought a necessary evil, was defended by Calhoun as a great good, vital to the life of the nation. It is only against this background that the hazards involved in active antislavery activity in the slave states can be properly understood.

<sup>5</sup> J. D. B. DeBow, *Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States*, II, 285.

<sup>6</sup> *The Cotton Kingdom* (New York, 1861), II, 250.



It was generally believed in the South that the circulation of the *Liberator* and of David Walker's *Appeal*<sup>7</sup> was responsible for the Nat Turner uprising. The North Carolina legislature indicted Garrison at the common law (*in absentia*) for stirring up insurrection, and the Georgia legislature set a price on his head. The slaveholding oligarchy was in no mood to tolerate abolition sentiment in the slave states. Yet by 1831 North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends was united in its opposition to slavery. Indeed when the New Garden Friends Boarding School opened on August 1, 1837 with forty-five pupils, its six teachers were all northerners of definite antislavery feelings.<sup>8</sup>

Among these was Harriet Peck, a young woman from Coventry, Rhode Island, whose letters to her parents<sup>9</sup> show how faithfully the New Garden Friends maintained the antislavery testimony of the Society. For Harriet Peck, though obscure and undistinguished and though granted a scant twenty-five years of life, was following the brave tradition of John Woolman and John Greenleaf Whittier. Advocating Garrison's immediatism, Harriet Peck and her colleagues at New Garden School urged slaveholders of the area to abandon the "peculiar institution." Nor was this all. She dared to circulate the *Liberator* and other antislavery publications, taught a Sunday school for slaves, encouraged her students to discuss the whole heated question of slavery, and joined in petitioning Congress and the North Carolina legislature to abolish slavery.

Each of these activities was subversive of the institution the South most wanted to protect—and forbidden by law. That these few Friends in North Carolina kept in contact with abolitionists in Boston and New York and aided their northern associates in bringing the abolition crusade to the South is evidence of their devotion to the cause. But more conspicuous than this

<sup>7</sup> *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles; together with a Preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World . . .* (Boston, 1830).

<sup>8</sup> Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro, N. C., 1937), p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> I am indebted to Miss Louisa White of Providence, Rhode Island, grandniece of Harriet Peck, for the unpublished letters on which this article is based. All the letters are addressed to Harriet's parents, Joanna and Perez Peck.



devotion is the moral courage with which they maintained their stand. In this respect the letters of Harriet Peck are valuable documents, for they establish the fact that as late as 1838 there was some active (even if limited and abortive) antislavery feeling in the South.

Harriet Peck was deeply disturbed about slavery. Nearly every letter she wrote her parents in Coventry shows this concern. On July 27, 1837, soon after her arrival in North Carolina, she wrote:

What seems to dwell with me most is the subject of slavery, and I cannot, or feel as though I could not, arrange my ideas to communicate upon any other subjects at present. We have seen for ourselves as much as we wish to. To us everything through Virginia wore a gloom . . . . The moment we stepped on shore at Potomac landing there seemed to be a cloud over everything . . . . When I have seen the poor slave waiting submissively, attending to every call, obliged to run hither and thither at every demand, and when I have considered, too, that this was all without compensation, it seemed to be enough to make 'the whole head sick and the whole heart faint.' We saw in passing through Virginia large fields of tobacco in the hoeing of which both male and female were employed. Yes, there they were under the rays of the scorching sun many of them with nothing over their heads. And now while I think of it I will insert C. Cornell's<sup>10</sup> love to our Antislavery Society together with a request from her that they should persevere and even double their diligence in the cause of the suffering and dumb—and by all means to abstain entirely from the use of tobacco.

Again on April 1, 1838 she wrote:

Susan wished me to say whether I saw any of the slaves. I did. I think there are six belonging to the house [of a nearby slaveholder]. I saw all those. Eliza M., his niece, informed us that the rest are hired out. There are one hundred in all. Delphina, his wife, is entirely opposed to slavery. She ought to give him no rest. They mentioned that they formed some acquaintance with Samuel J. May when at the North. G—, I think, spent some little time in his company. They seemed to be much pleased with what they saw of him. Whether he entertained them with abolition conversation, I do not know . . . . The number of slaves that I saw there are treated well, as slaves — yet 'tis as slaves. They are deprived of *liberty*, and the sin of the dreadful system remains the same. Be assured my views upon the subject are unchanged, the same that they ever have been. I hope they do not admit

<sup>10</sup> Catharine Cornell was the other teacher in charge of girls at New Garden Boarding School and by all accounts no less determined in her abolition sentiments.

of a change — indeed it does not appear to me possible. Though I know we have instances of those who, after having borne a decided testimony against it, have, in different circumstances, justified it, that is, become slaveholders in principle and some even in practice.

Many Quakers did not escape the contagion of a slaveholding society. Harriet Peck goes on to point out that Dr. Mendenhall, a young man of Deep River, "who when quite young was much opposed to slavery, and did, perhaps, all he considered in his power to do as confirmation" later became a slaveowner.

He married a young lady of South Carolina who, by the way was, at the time, as much opposed to slavery as himself, also a member among Friends. They, however, were married by a minister, and of course disowned. After their marriage they removed to Newbury, South Carolina. He joined the Baptist Society, and is now a minister among them, purchased a number of slaves which he held until about a year since; upon removing to Charleston, disposed of between twenty and thirty thousand dollars' worth, who, I think, were driven to the south. He retained a few and so his abolitionism went to sleep and his conscience was lulled by desire of false fame. As according to his own excuse, none was popular there unless he held slaves.

Harriet Peck and her colleagues at New Garden School did not hesitate to translate their moral indignation over slavery into action. They abstained from the use of goods produced by slave labor, and since slavery was for them a moral, rather than an economic problem, sought to reach the consciences of the owners of Negroes. Harriet Peck herself had many a spirited argument with slaveholders.

We dined and passed the afternoon [she wrote in this same letter of April 1, 1838] . . . at the house of G. A., a slaveholder — who intends to continue the practice, at any rate, until his only son — who is now twelve years old, becomes of age, that he may have the honor of setting them at liberty, and how does he know — admitting that slavery does not cease before then, but his own son may have the same excuse?

It is interesting to note that the young teacher received copies of the *Liberator* regularly while she was at New Garden School. On one occasion she cautioned her father not to write on the pages of the *Liberator* "as it may not be quite safe."<sup>11</sup> But there was no time when these periodicals were not forthcoming. Moreover, she was able to distribute this subversive

<sup>11</sup> Letter dated April 4, 1838.

literature among her acquaintances. "I expect to send some of the papers to South Carolina, as a way has opened," she wrote on April 1, 1838. "I have already distributed half of what I had in the other part of the school a week or two since, sent one number to Deep River—and have given *The Friend of Man* . . . to N. B. Hill, after reading it myself."

According to her own account, the *Narrative of James Williams*, a sketch of the life of a fugitive slave, received wide circulation. "The *Narrative of James Williams*, a copy of which thou sent to each of us, I think will do good. After reading mine, I handed it to cousin Dugan for his perusal, and then sent it to Deep River . . ." she wrote her father on August 6, 1838. A month later, on September 29, 1838, she wrote:

James Williams' 'Narrative' is in great demand; the copy father sent me, as I think I have mentioned, I sent to Deep River, and C. left hers at Springfield. The other that I sent to Jona, E. Jones told me a few days since, she had lent to one and another until it was nearly worn out, and opportunity offering, a week or two since, she gave it to a slaveholder who resides near Greensborough. One of the school committee from Springfield was inquiring of us last week, if there could be any more obtained as he knew of a certain slaveholder to whom he was very desirous to present a copy. He thinks there may be means of doing much good here. A number of friends have requested us to write for more. They all express the opinion that the 'Narrative' is calculated to effect much good . . . Please forward two copies of J. Williams' 'Narrative' also to C. if they can be obtained.

Harriet Peck received her additional copies of the *Narrative of James Williams*, but was pained to learn soon after that the authenticity of the narrative had been questioned. "I am much grieved about the 'Narrative'. How can it be? Will it not be an injury to the cause?" she asked in a letter written on November 3, 1838. James Williams was a fugitive slave who claimed that he had been a driver on an Alabama plantation. He had dictated the account of his life to John Greenleaf Whittier, and the *Narrative* appeared early in 1838, published by the American Antislavery Society. A short time after the pamphlet was issued, the editor of the *Alabama Beacon* asserted that no such plantation or planter as Williams mentioned was to be found anywhere in Alabama. The idea began to get around that Whittier had been hoodwinked by a free Negro pretending to be a fugitive

slave, and the Antislavery office decided to suppress the book. Whittier himself explained the action of the Society in the *Emancipator* on September 20, 1838 by saying:

Our cause needs no support of a doubtful character, and if the narrative in any essential particular is untrue, the slaveholders of Virginia and Alabama would confer a favor upon us by immediately pronouncing testimony to that effect.

Actually fugitive slaves often used assumed names of owners and plantations in their narratives<sup>12</sup> since they lived in constant fear of recapture. It would be difficult to establish the fact that Williams' biography was indeed a fraud. This evidence of the wide circulation of Williams' narrative among southerners, however, is significant in that it indicates the relative success of abolitionists in reaching the ears of the South. For Harriet Peck declared: "I have no doubt but that antislavery publications are read wherever they can be obtained, that is, at the South—even if read secretly."<sup>13</sup>

But not content only to discuss slavery with slaveholders and distribute abolition propaganda, the teachers at New Garden School encouraged their students to discuss the question.

The subject of slavery is discussed here more than formerly. The scholars in the other part have had the subject of Emancipation before their debating society several evenings. The question was in this form, 'Ought immediate emancipation to take place?' A number of weeks since they discussed the same question and decided in the negative. Last week they took it up again, and having discussed it two evenings, gave the vote, and it was decided in favor of Immediate Emancipation by a large majority.<sup>14</sup>

The teachers at New Garden seem to have spurred the anti-slavery effort of the meeting. Dougan and Asenath Clark, Jonathan Slocum, Nathan B. Hill, Catharine Cornell and Harriet Peck stand out in this regard. Asenath Clark proposed that the students draw up a petition "respecting the obtaining of the produce of free labor so far as may be—for the use of the institution in which petition they shall express their feelings on

<sup>12</sup> For a complete study of slave narratives see Charles H. Nichols, Jr., *A Study of the Slave Narrative*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Brown University, 1948.

<sup>13</sup> Letter dated December 1, 1838.

<sup>14</sup> Letter dated April 1, 1838.

the subject—to which they gladly assented.”<sup>15</sup> Dougan and Asenath Clark, whom Harriet Peck described as “much more in the spirit of immediatism than formerly” brought their concern to the meeting. The subject of slavery came up for discussion on several occasions. On November 3, 1838 Harriet Peck wrote of such a meeting to her family:

Cousin Asenath said considerable upon the subject. She remarked that she believed it to be high time for greater exertions, that a change must take place ere long in the situation of the poor, degraded victims of oppression. In conclusion she encouraged all to stand ready to do whatever they could—to watch for openings where they might point out to the oppressor the sinfulness of the sin he was committing. Nathan Mendenhall then observed that he was glad to hear her express what she did . . . . He wished to state that men Friends in the meeting for sufferings, on sixth day, had united in preparing some memorials to Congress, for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and territories of which it had been proposed both men and women should have copies appropriate, each to obtain signatures, which also is not only for the signatures of members of Friends Society, but is to be circulated for all to have an opportunity of signing who feel a desire for the yoke of the slave to be broken.

A petition was then drawn up by the women, signed by Quakers and other citizens of North Carolina and sent to Congress. Their “memorial” read as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled. We, the undersigned women of North Carolina deeply deploring the existence of slavery in this nation, earnestly entreat you to legislate for the termination of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the territories and entreat that you will not permit Texas to become a constituent part of the United States.

The group went further in its antislavery testimony. Members of the Yearly Meeting joined in petitioning the North Carolina state legislature for the abolition of slavery.

Your petitioners [they wrote], under a solemn conviction that freedom is the right of all mankind, entreat you in the fear of Almighty God, and the love of the everlasting gospel, to legislate for the speedy termination of slavery in this state. Should it be out of your power to act up to the laws of justice immediately, we beg leave to lay before you the oppressed situation of the people of color; humbly petitioning you to repeal those unchristian laws which have recently been enacted

<sup>15</sup> Letter dated September 29, 1838.

—feeling our privileges abridged as citizens of the United States, in not being permitted to enlighten the poor, ignorant colored man on pain of the most severe suffering and even death, while large sums are expended for the instruction of the heathen of foreign nations. We ask for these the privileges of peaceably attending places of worship without molestation. Signed on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends held in North Carolina in the eleventh month, 1838 by Abigail H. Stanley, clerk.

Two female Friends were requested to present the petition to one of the state representatives. But the petition did not even come up for consideration in the legislature.

I must tell thee how it fared with our petitions to the state legislature . . . [Harriet Peck wrote home on January 31, 1839]. The person who had it in charge gave his promise that he would present it—and he did, but how does thou suppose he managed? He put it off with the very last business, no doubt purposely, that nothing might be done, and of course it was postponed with unfinished business. I understand the legislature will not meet again under two years. Oh it is intolerable! How everything relating to the delicate subject is suppressed! Not only here but almost everywhere. I think we cannot expect much better things of men who have been raised in the very midst of slavery — when we bring the acts of some of our New Englanders along side for comparison. What does thou think of Atherton's course in Congress? Is it not abominable for a person thus to trifle with the rights of the people?

The young teacher from Rhode Island took her work seriously. Dougan Clark, one of the school's superintendents, commended Harriet Peck for her "amiable, mild and firm deportment which might do credit to advanced age."<sup>16</sup> Hers was a busy life, for she was responsible for the development of her students in every phase of their lives at New Garden Boarding School. Yet she found time to help in drawing up petitions, in visiting slaveholders, and in teaching a Sunday school for Negroes. After meeting and dinner on First Day she was at work again:

Then I pack off again as soon as possible to the schoolhouse where the colored school is held . . . where I stay until half past two — at which time our school generally closes . . . A couple of scholars from each department generally assist us. I often wish that thou and my dear sisters could be our helpers . . . The anxiety manifested by the poor creatures to learn is indeed great. Quite a number of them walk

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by Dorothy Gilbert in *Guilford: A Quaker College*, p. 47.



several miles every first day. Some of them take a small luncheon with them — others stay without anything from morning until the close of school. They generally leave home in the morning and get here in season to attend our meeting from whence they go to the schoolhouse.<sup>17</sup>

Such schools for slaves were rare in the South; in many states (including North Carolina) they were forbidden by law.

It is very likely that the *ante bellum* South was not as "solid" as has been supposed—that the plantation economy with its frontier conditions could not exert totalitarian control over dissenters. Harriet Peck wrote of "a slaveholder of Greensboro who has drawn up a petition to forward to the legislature praying for the repeal of those laws respecting the education of slaves to which he is obtaining signatures. I wish I could tell you a great deal more that is good. People everywhere are becoming more and more alive to the subject as you well know."<sup>18</sup> Yet economic and political control was firmly in the hands of the slavocracy, and ultimately its will prevailed. Clearly this isolated antislavery activity of a few Friends could not possibly have achieved its goals in North Carolina. Yet it is significant that the Quaker conscience was active even in the old South. Harriet Peck and the members of the Yearly Meeting were in the main stream of the reformism of the 1830's, 40's and 50's when the belief in the sacred, perfectible individual began to create a grass-roots democracy in America. It is true that these idealists saw in slavery a moral rather than an economic problem, that, at times they underestimated the power and viciousness of the institutions they attacked. Yet it is, perhaps, unfair to weigh their actual achievement in grudging scales. Harriet Peck—like Garrison, Whittier and May—sacrificed a great deal for what she thought was right. It was on one of her trips to the plantation of a slaveowner that she caught the cold which cost her her life. She died a month after her return to Coventry—on May 23, 1839. In the decade which saw the rise of militant abolitionism in the person of Garrison, and of the most explosive of servile revolts in Nat Turner, there was Harriet Peck fighting the battle for freedom in her own way—faithful to the principles of Friends, loyal to the best traditions of American democracy.

<sup>17</sup> Letter dated March 1, 1839.

<sup>18</sup> Letter dated December 1, 1838.

## THE NEWLY DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF ELIAS HICKS

### A Study of the Writing and Editing of a Quaker Journal

BY BLISS FORBUSH\*

#### I

ON NOVEMBER 21, 1878, James S. Gibbons<sup>1</sup> sealed up the pages of the manuscript journal of Elias Hicks and placed it with other papers in the Westbury Monthly Meeting safe. There the manuscript remained until the fall of 1949, when Leon A. Rushmore, Jr., Recorder of Westbury Meeting, found it. The manuscript was so thoroughly forgotten that no one remembered to call it to the attention of Henry W. Wilbur when he wrote *The Life and Labors of Elias Hicks* in 1910, nor was it used when the book was revised in 1922.

James S. Gibbons divided the two hundred and more sheets of the manuscript into five packages, around each of which he pasted a narrow sheet of heavy paper on which he indicated the corresponding pages in the printed journal, then dated and signed each band. Packs 1, 3, and 4 were marked "perfect"; pack 2 was marked "some sheets missing." Actually there are only two missing sections. One is a sheet which was torn away, leaving a margin containing a few words. It was headed "Jericho," and the first line began "Agreeable"; it is obviously the opening page of what is later called the home journal. The absence of this page is not noted in the printed journal. The other missing section is that part of the manuscript corresponding to half of pages 168-169.

The fifth section was marked "perfect from page 266 to p. 372. Eleventh Mo. 21, 1878. J. S. Gibbons." The sixth was marked "detached pieces and fragments." This section was

\* Bliss Forbush, Headmaster of Friends School, Baltimore, is preparing a biography of Elias Hicks.

<sup>1</sup> James Sloan Gibbons was the son of Dr. William Gibbons of Wilmington, Delaware, who sent a letter containing medical advice to Elias Hicks referred to later in this article. James married Abby Hopper, daughter of Isaac T. Hopper who printed Elias Hicks's *Journal* in 1832.



made up in part of papers in Elias Hicks's handwriting which had nothing to do with the journal. In addition there were sheets which fitted into the journal, three travel journals, and six pages not in the handwriting of Hicks but covering parts of the journal not otherwise paralleled by written material. As these six sheets are in the handwriting of three and possibly four individuals it may be a hint which suggests that different members of the revision committee copied parts of the manuscript journal for the printer. Among these detached pieces was also one which is undated, signed by William Gibbons, and containing suggested remedies for some physical difficulties with which Elias Hicks was afflicted, such as a weak stomach, fever, and "the gravel."

The printed journal, with the one exception noted (pages 168-169), is paralleled by sheets in the handwriting of Elias Hicks from page 1 through page 356. At this point the manuscript sheet is marked in red ink by James S. Gibbons: "here ends the continuity of the journal 356 q. v." A travel journal, however, in Elias's handwriting, carries the story further to page 372, line 5. Broken sheets and additional travel journals, also in the author's handwriting, fill in other pages.<sup>2</sup> Thus of the 438 pages in the printed journal, all but 36 exist in manuscript form. The account of the death of Jemima Hicks, found on pages 425-426 of the printed journal was also with the manuscript journal, but it is in another's handwriting.

Most of the sheets of the original journal were written on foolscap, 13" x 16", folded into the more convenient size of 13" x 8" for writing purposes. Most of the travel journals are written on smaller pages, or notebooks, 9½" or 10" x 8".

## II

It is not certain when Elias Hicks began to write his journal, but seven years before his death in 1830 he disapproved of such a project, as is shown by a letter he wrote to his friend William Poole, of Wilmington. Poole had written asking if he had ever contemplated such a task, and Elias answered on Ninth Month 12, 1823, as follows:

<sup>2</sup> Except for pages 372, line 5 to 391, line 3; 394, line 22 to 398, line 13; and 426, line 23 to 438, line 27.

As to thy inquiry, whether I have any settled intention respecting leaving a journal of my life &c., I am at present not prepared to answer. For, although I have made some notes of my journeys, and of some things that have transpired in the course of my pilgrimage, yet I have doubts of latter time, whether there is a propriety and a utility in so much written testimony, or whether it does not tend to clog and shut up the avenue to better instruction, and whether, what is revealed to one generation is as likely to be profitable to a succeeding one, as to that to which it was particularly directed and opened, and therefore, to intrude that upon a succeeding generation, which was particularly adapted and suited to the state of a previous one, may it not have a tendency to cause the succeeding generation to look back to the letter, instead of keeping a single eye to the spirit, which can only furnish us with knowledge and ability to make progress in reformation?<sup>3</sup>

The course of subsequent events must have made the Jericho prophet change his mind, and these events had chiefly to do with the Separation within the Society. He was one of the chief figures involved in those sad happenings and since men on both sides misunderstood each other, great bitterness resulted. Charges of unsoundness and disunity were hurled privately and publicly at Elias Hicks and he no doubt felt forced to write a connected account of his life and experience in order to demonstrate that he always was in unity with his Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, and that on his many travels he was greeted by throngs of listeners who were in sympathy with his message.

Perhaps he would have written a journal in any case. He lived during a period when many Quaker journals were produced, nearly all in a common mold. He had been brought up on the journals of earlier Friends, and possessed copies of some of them. He owned a copy of the 1774 edition of John Woolman's journal. He was a great admirer of Job Scott, whose journal was printed in 1798 and revised and enlarged in 1815 (again to be revised by John Comly, a close friend of Elias Hicks, in 1830).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of Elias Hicks* (Philadelphia, 1861), p. 139. The original is in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

<sup>4</sup> Copies of the third edition of George Fox's *Journal*, printed in 1765, and a copy of John Woolman's *Journal*, printed in 1774, and bearing the autograph of Elias Hicks, are in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

If anything was needed to make Elias Hicks change his mind about writing the journal, it probably was the controversy occasioned by his visit in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1825 and the coming to this country in the following year of two English Friends, both of whom disagreed heartily with his views. Elias lived his usual life as a farmer at Jericho during the first half of 1824 and 1825, and most of 1826 and 1827. He made his long western swing in 1828-29, and was paralyzed on February 14, 1830. From these facts, and from the arrangement of the manuscript material, it would seem that he wrote before the western trip in 1828, and of course after his letter was written to William Poole in 1823. The winters of 1826 and 1827 best fit the information available.

When Elias Hicks began to write the full account of his life, he had much material upon which to draw. As he indicated to William Poole, he had been in the habit of keeping journals of his main visits, writing down in a notebook each day or two the events which took place. Six of these so-called travel journals have survived in part or whole; one is in the collection of Hicks material in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, and a photostatic copy of a second, covering half of the long western swing of 1828-29, is among the same papers.

The manuscript travel journals which exist show the details which the itinerant minister kept while away from Jericho. The 1828-29 journal begins with a list of "persons where we lodged":

- 2d day night at William Shotwells Rahway
- 3d day night at Sarah Shotwells ditto
- 4th day night at Edward Vails Plainfield
- 5th day night at Henry Cliftons Kingwood
- 6th day night at Whatson Fells Solebury

Then follows the body of the journal, after which Elias Hicks records the fact that he took with him when he left home one hundred and thirty dollars. It is only here and in the other original travel journals that any indication is ever given of the cost of these journeys; this information is not reprinted in the published edition. Expenses on the way from Jericho to New York, for example, are listed as 54 d., from Rahway to Kingwood 30 d., and to Solebury, Pennsylvania 37 d. He paid for

oats "on the way to Bedford 37 d." Ninety cents was paid for cloth "for a jacket" and seventy-five cents "for making it up." Forty d. was the cost of shoeing his horses.

After giving some statement of his expenses, Elias lists the distances which he has travelled in full detail:

From Jericho to New York	27 miles
To Rahway	20
To Plainfield	9
To Kingwood	30
To Solebury, Penna.	16

At the end of each page he usually added up the columns listing the mileage covered and at the end summarized the total. The distance on the journey of 1828-29 amounted to 2,393 miles. On the last page of this travel journal he wrote a reminder: "Job Carr and Wife Desire their love to their friend."

In addition to the six travel journals which have survived,<sup>5</sup> there are indications that at least twenty other similar journals were kept. Indeed the details of nearly thirty trips given in the printed journal are so complete that it is not possible that he could have remembered them all. By way of contrast, there were twenty-four other journeys of considerable length for which no travel journals were kept. In assembling the full story of his life he did not have details of these visits and so condensed the accounts of them into brief paragraphs. Thus a trip of one thousand miles made in 1808 receives two pages in the printed journal, and a visit to Baltimore and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings made in 1824 is reduced to a paragraph in the printed edition.

In addition to the travel journals, which were before him as he wrote, Elias Hicks also had a home journal which he began in 1813, ten years before William Poole wrote to him about the project. This home journal begins on page 132 of the printed edition and seems to end in 1819 on page 390 of the printed edition. At first, the home journal was written on smaller pages than those used by Elias in the full account, and these

<sup>5</sup> Copies of other travel journals may appear from time to time. A copy of one was found by Robert Seaman of Jericho, Long Island, a descendant of Elias Hicks's daughter Sarah, within the past few years.

smaller sheets are dark with age. Typical passages read as follows:

Sixth day. Nothing material occurred, but a fear lest the cares of the world should engross too much of my time.

Seventh day. Had a visit from two ancient friends, whom I have long loved. The rest of the day I employed in manual labor, mostly in gardening.

Third and fourth days. Mostly occupied in my temporal concerns, with attendant poverty of spirit, and a longing after spiritual food, free from condemnation.

In the home journal much of Elias Hicks's life in Jericho is recorded. His many meeting activities are mentioned, as well as his frequent attendance at funerals, and his shorter visits among nearby groups of Friends. After he began the home journal, he usually did not copy the account of a longer visit from the travel journals into it, but simply inserted the travel journal among the pages of his manuscript. Thus in order to get the correct sequence of events it is necessary to break into the middle of a page in the home journal. Often the author indicates such a break with an asterisk.

To summarize, it would seem that Elias Hicks decided to write a full account of his life about the year 1826 or 1827, and that when he began the work he had before him many small travel journals, and, in addition, one home journal that covered in detail his life during the years 1813 to 1819. From the journal we know much more about the six-year period from 1813 to 1819 than we do about any other period in his life, nearly two-thirds of the printed journal, some 258 pages out of 438 being devoted to these years.

He began the story with what he could remember of his youth, his early manhood, and his call to the ministry. There are sufficient details of his first journey—a mission having to do with the Revolutionary War—to indicate that he must have kept some record of it. This is also true of a much longer trip which he took in 1781. From that date until the beginning of the home journal in 1813, accounts of one trip after another are given with practically no mention of what he did between journeys. From 1819 on, the printed journal is very sketchy. It records the events of the two long western trips, and what

Elias could remember of several shorter journeys. The year 1821 is blank and the years 1823 and 1827 are condensed into a few paragraphs. There is an account of the death of Jemima Hicks which occurred soon after he returned from his last western swing, but the page on which it is contained is in another's handwriting. The account of this sorrowful event is followed by the contents of one more travel journal and then, as if tired of writing, he "closed his Journal, and signed his name; after which he lived a little more than two months."<sup>6</sup>

### III

The Memorial to Elias Hicks drafted by Jericho Monthly Meeting was signed by the Clerks on Fourth Month 15, 1830. The Meeting for Sufferings of New York Yearly Meeting approved the minute, as forwarded to them by Westbury Quarterly Meeting, on Fifth Month 26th. A year later, the Meeting for Sufferings made the following minute:

Information was communicated to the Meeting at this time that there were several manuscripts left by our beloved friend Elias Hicks, deceased, written by himself containing many particulars respecting his life and religious engagements, that they have been preserved by his connections who believe that the publication of them would be acceptable and instructive. This interesting subject engaged the attention of the Meeting and a considerable portion of his Journal read. The memory of this eminent servant in the church was felt to be precious. The following Friends were appointed to examine the manuscript, and report thereon to a further setting of this Meeting, viz. John Burrows, Nathan Comstock, Thomas Wright, Stephen Underhill, Robert Hicks, Samuel Mott, and Samuel Willits.

On the 20th of Sixth Month, 1831 the "committee to whom was referred the manuscript of our beloved friend Elias Hicks reported attention thereto." Again a portion of the journal was read and it was compared with the first 25 pages of the original, and in the evening of the same day 15 more pages were scrutinized. Adjourning to the next day, the Meeting for Sufferings again compared the manuscript in preparation by the committee as far as page 77, where they penciled on the border: "The Meeting for Sufferings proceeded to this page 6 mo. 21 - 1831."

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks* (New York, 1832), p. 438.

The committee then adjourned, having added to the original sub-committee the names of Isaac T. Hopper (who was the publisher of the *Journal*), John Corlis, Whitehead Hicks, and Valentine Hicks (the son-in-law of Elias Hicks<sup>7</sup>). In March the sub-committee reported to the larger body and the following minute was made:

The Committee to whom was referred the manuscript of our friend Elias Hicks report diligent attention thereto and had made considerable progress therein; the original manuscript and copy offered to the Meeting and considerable portions read; after deliberate consideration it was concluded to leave the further attention to them to the committee who are requested when they have completed the examination and attention to their being correctly copied and compared with the original manuscript, they may deliver them to the descendants of Elias Hicks with a view to their being printed by them.<sup>8</sup>

In Twelfth Month, 1831 the committee on the manuscript "of our deceased friend Elias Hicks report they have completed the service and the copies have been delivered as directed." The copy of the manuscript which the committee made for the printer has disappeared. The original sheets written by Elias Hicks show marks of the examination, and when compared with the printed edition indicate the many changes made by the editorial body.

Throughout the Hicks manuscript appear marks in pencil made by the revisers. These include such comments as "in part," "to be reconsidered by the com.," "proposed to be omitted," "to be again looked at," and "perhaps may be abridged considerably." The original manuscript also shows many deletions. Sometimes the omissions consist of one or two lines; again they may extend from a paragraph to a page or more. In the first hundred pages of the printed journal the equivalent of ten manuscript pages are omitted.

A preliminary examination would indicate that while he was writing, or during a later re-reading, Elias Hicks made some corrections himself, crossing out a phrase or a line here and there. When the committee did its work, additional lines

<sup>7</sup> He married Abigail Hicks, and local tradition says that he was the chief reviser of the journal.

<sup>8</sup> Manuscript Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, New York Yearly Meeting held at 15th street, 5/30/1828 - 5/27/1841.



were crossed out in pencil, and here and there sections were boxed in pencil for omission. Oddly enough, some of the crossed-out lines and some of the boxed material does appear in the printed journal. Perhaps Valentine Hicks was responsible for these last decisions.

It was to be expected that misspelled words would be changed and place-names corrected as necessary. Now and then a slip in grammar appears and these are straightened out. Occasionally a bit of information is supplied. Thus the name of Jesse Merritt, who was Elias Hicks's traveling companion on his longest and most exciting trip to the west in 1828-29, is not found in the original manuscript but is added in the printed journal. Perhaps in the same manner that scholars think the mention in Mark 14:51 of the boy in the garden of Gethsemane indicates the possible author of the second gospel, so the addition of Jesse Merritt's name indicates that he was present when the Meeting for Sufferings was considering the journal.

The division of the journal into chapters was done by the revisers, sometimes without any apparent rhyme or reason. Pages of the manuscript are divided in the middle and a new chapter heading inserted. It is again interesting to note that nine of the eighteen chapters are given over to the years 1813-1819.

Among the omissions made by the committee are interesting bits of information concerning Elias's childhood and youth, such as the fact that he was "early learned to read" and that he could speak of "my teachers"; and that the young woman who became the housekeeper after the death of his mother, "was always ready in his [the father's] absence to join us in mirth and vain amusements!" More important omissions are those made apparently because it was felt their inclusion would detract from the esteem with which Elias was regarded. A more skeptical age would not understand his occasional prophecies or his visions. Just as George Fox's "Book of Miracles" was allowed to fall into oblivion,<sup>9</sup> so the three visions which appear in full in the manuscript journal are not recorded in the printed journal.

<sup>9</sup> Henry J. Cadbury, *George Fox's 'Book of Miracles'* (Cambridge, 1948).



Toward the end of the printed edition many details concerning the Separation are left out or are toned down. Elias Hicks speaks of locked meeting houses, of his being forced to hold gatherings in barns and orchards on the western swing because "the Elders" shut the buildings. He mentions disorders and interruptions which were well omitted in 1832 but which make interesting reading today. Perhaps the committee chuckled over the manner in which Elias Hicks speaks of his English critic Thomas Shillitoe as "our old friend" or "that old man," though Thomas Shillitoe was seventy-four and Elias Hicks was eighty when they traveled through the west in 1828, but it is as well that the references were left out. It was also in the interest of good taste that comments on suicides, fall butchering, and his many illnesses were removed.

It may be that the revisers felt that Elias's references to the size of the gatherings that came to hear him were somewhat exaggerated, for he mentions crowds of two or three thousands, and often speaks of "hundreds" that were "turned away." One would like to know whether these omissions were warranted; from other information that has survived it is quite likely that they were not. It is now good to know that when he was subject to the strongest attacks by those who disagreed with him on his visits, "hundreds stayed to shake" his hand, and that frequently many "were reduced to tears." Now and again some excellent passages containing his theological ideas are left out in the printed journal or somewhat softened, but perhaps the committee felt that the same topics were adequately treated in other pages.

Perhaps one of the most interesting details which appears in the manuscript but not in the printed edition is Elias's description of the ancient custom known as bundling. It may be that the "petting" of our modern youth here finds a parallel.

I often had opportunity of falling into hurtful company, and now arriving to a state of manhood, was much exposed, more especially in consequence of a very pernicious and hurtful custom that prevailed, through the unwarrantable indulgence of parents in this and some other parts of our Country, Viz: that of young people, getting together, in companies, more especially on the evenings of the first days of the week, and after passing the evening until late, in foolish and vain conversation, and some other vain amusements, then to couple out as

the young men and young women could agree, and retire in secret, where they spent the rest of the night, frequently on beds together.<sup>10</sup> Shameful custom and irreligious practice, how could parents ever indulge their children, in just such sinful, indecent and immodest conduct, and it more especially commanded my admiration<sup>11</sup>, even in these my younger years, in finding friends children, likewise indulged in this practice, for I then thought, that if I lived to have children to bring up and educate, I could by no means indulge them in such improper conduct . . . .

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<sup>10</sup> These last four words were blacked out with ink, evidently by Elias Hicks himself.

<sup>11</sup> Meaning astonishment.

## Notes and Documents

### "A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SOME OF G.F.'s SUFFERINGS AND IMPRISONMENTS"

BY GEOFFREY F. NUTTALL\*

THE DOCUMENT bearing this title is preserved in manuscript (Portfolio 36,172) in the Library of the Society of Friends at Friends House, London. Some years ago it was transcribed by Dr. Theodor Sippell of Marburg, who recently presented me with his transcript. The manuscript is one of a number of narrative fragments by or concerning George Fox which Professor Henry J. Cadbury hopes eventually to edit. The prospect of a new edition of Fox's *Journal* by John L. Nickalls, a conflation of the original manuscript known since its publication in 1911 as the *Cambridge Journal* (*C. J.*), of Ellwood's edition of that manuscript (generally used in the Bicentenary Edition of 1891) and of the document published in 1925 and known as the *Short Journal*, suggests that information concerning this "Short Account" may be welcomed by readers of the BULLETIN.

The "Short Account" is a manuscript in the handwriting of Mark Swanner, who for a period in the 1680's was assistant "Recording Clerk" of the Society of Friends (*C. J.*, II, 488; *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 1 [1904], 63 ff; 2 [1905], 6; 27 [1930], 3). The manuscript, however, appears to be a copy of an original (now probably lost) written, or, as in other cases, dictated by Fox himself. Three reasons may be advanced for thinking this. First, though the Account mainly refers to Fox in the third person, in two passages the third person gives place to the first. Secondly, there are occasional details of description such as could hardly come from anyone but Fox himself. Thirdly, the letters G.F. are written at the end of the manuscript, as if copying a signature.

The Account covers the period from Fox's visit to Chesterfield to his release from imprisonment at Carlisle in 1653. The

\* Geoffrey F. Nuttall is the author of *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* and *Studies in Christian Enthusiasm*.

opening words are "First, G.F. was moved of ye Lord to go into ye steeplehouse at Chesterfield"; the concluding words are "And G.F. was kept long there in an hard prison, but afterwards set at Liberty." We may presume that the Account was written shortly after this release, just as the *Short Journal*, more evidently, was written during Fox's imprisonment at Lancaster in 1664, with which that document ends. If this early dating of the Account is correct, it is an additional reason for regarding the existing manuscript as a copy, since in 1653 Fox did not know Mark Swanner, who was not convinced till long after that date.

The amount of material in the Account which has not already been printed by Ellwood or in the *Cambridge Journal* or the *Short Journal* is extremely small. The main additions or variants are as follows. At Nottingham Fox adds that he was commanded "to tell them that God did not dwell in Temples made with hands." At Mansfield-Woodhouse it was "boys" as well as "the rude Multitude" who stoned him. At Leicester the people "haled him out" of the steeplehouse, and the discourse at the great inn lasted "several hours." Between his visit to Beverley and his going to another steeplehouse the same afternoon, he "refresht himself with some hips and hawes that he got about ye hedges," a seasonal reference which may help to date this visit more precisely. At Patrington he was brought prisoner after being taken "as he was preaching repentance in a Town," which is a variant from *C. J.*, I, 30. The meeting at Firbank was "upon a Common." The instrument of his persecution at "Staplehouse" (i.e., Staveley: *C. J.*, I, 46) was "Justice Rawlinson," i.e. Robert Rawlinson (*C. J.*, II, 390). At the town near Walney Island the man who tried to shoot him was held, "though he struck fire"; whereas according to *C. J.*, I, 60, his pistol "would not go off."

These variants, though slight, are, cumulatively, sufficient evidence of a separate Account, and one not used by Ellwood in his editing of Fox's *Journal*. Nor do any of the variants given above appear in the *Short Journal*. They may be taken as representing details recalled soon after the events described had taken place but too insignificant to be remembered several years later. More remarkable, in fact, is the extent of agreement between the

Account and the later versions. For, although the *Cambridge Journal* and Ellwood add considerably to Fox's "sufferings and passages" (whereas the *Short Journal* keeps more nearly to the material provided in the Account), their repetition of what is contained in the Account, at least in its sense if not always in its exact wording, is extremely close.

In the itinerary followed by Fox, however, there is a great difference between the Account, the *Short Journal* and the *Cambridge Journal* (which, so far as the places named in the Account are concerned, is followed faithfully by Ellwood). At first sight we appear to be presented with three separate sources for his itinerary. The places mentioned in the Account may be divided into three areas: the Midlands, Yorkshire, and the North-West. The discrepancy between the three documents is greater in the first two areas than in the third.

For Fox's early wanderings in the Midlands, Ellwood has accustomed us to the order: Mansfield and Leicester; and then, after a break, Nottingham, Mansfield-Woodhouse, Bagworth, Atherstone, and Bosworth; and Chesterfield and Derby (Bicent., I, 23 ff., 42-50; the last pages corresponding to *C.J.*, I, 1 f.). The order in the *Short Journal* is Mansfield, Nottingham and Leicester; Chesterfield and Derby; and Mansfield-Woodhouse, Bagworth, Bosworth and Atherstone. But the order in the Account is different again. Here we have Chesterfield, Nottingham, Mansfield-Woodhouse, Leicester, Bosworth, Atherstone, Bagworth and Derby, with Mansfield in the margin.<sup>1</sup>

In Yorkshire, the places mentioned in the Account are given in the following order: Doncaster, Warmsworth (written Farnsworth by an obvious slip) and Tickhill; Beverley and Patrington; and York, with High Town and Wakefield in the margin. The *Short Journal* has the following order: Beverley and Patrington; Wakefield, Doncaster, Tickhill, Warmsworth and High Town; York is missing. The *Cambridge Journal*, followed by Ellwood, has yet a third order: Beverley, York and Patrington; Warmsworth, Doncaster, Tickhill, Wakefield and High Town.

<sup>1</sup> The marginal additions are partly in longhand, partly in shorthand.

The order of places visited in the North-West is almost identical in all three documents, except that in both the Account and the *Short Journal* the visit to Cartmel appears earlier. But what are we to say of the discrepancies in the other two areas? At first sight, most reliance might be placed on the Account, if its early date is accepted, and least upon the *Cambridge Journal*, as written later than both the Account and the *Short Journal*. It may be well, however, to recall William Charles Braithwaite's comment on the *Short Journal*: "The 'Short Journal' [it was then still in manuscript] is defective in chronological sequence in some details, though the general arrangement of the sections follows the order of Fox's travels. It has the appearance of being an abridgment made for the purpose of bringing all his sufferings together" (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 536).

This comment applies with equal or greater force to the Account, except that a document composed so early as 1653 could hardly be called an abridgment. There is, in fact, no attempt here to give a careful itinerary or chronological sequence. The connecting words between one paragraph and the next are often biblical in their simplicity: e.g., "And at Nottingham," "And at Mansfield Woodhouse," "And upon another Lecture-day," "And one day," and so on. The document is, in fact, no more than it claims to be: i.e., "A Short Account of Some of G.F.'s Sufferings and Imprisonments" (it has repeated references to his lying out "at nights in ye fields in the Cold winter season"). In the 1650's the itch to record which characterized the early Quakers had hardly reached the stage of "journalizing"; they were still content with recording "sufferings," and for this there was no need of a chronological framework. The details of Fox's early itinerary in the Midlands and in Yorkshire have never been very clear, were not, it may be, very clear to Fox himself as he sought to recover them; they are certainly not made clearer by this Account, as anyone will discover who draws a sketch-map of the places mentioned.

For these reasons, no doubt, and very properly the Account has not been collated by John Nickalls for the forthcoming edition of Fox's *Journal*. It remains, none the less, an interesting

fragment of early material in what may be called the *Journal's* prehistory. It adds a few fresh touches to familiar scenes in Fox's travels. It also indicates how soon he felt called to record "some of" his "Sufferings and Imprisonments." Even he, perhaps, would have been surprised, could he have known the interest with which these are being pored over and reconstructed exactly three hundred years afterwards.

## QUAKERS AND CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS: A SUPPLEMENT

BY GEORGE L. PHILLIPS\*

SINCE THE publication of "Quakers and Chimney Sweeps" in an earlier issue of this BULLETIN<sup>1</sup>, several additional references to the humanitarian efforts of the Society of Friends to alleviate the sufferings of the climbing-boys, until such time as Parliament might actually prevent their employment, have come to light.

Maria Edgeworth probably is the first author to bring a Quaker in conjunction with two chimney-sweeper's apprentices to inculcate moral principles on the minds of her youthful readers. In her short story, "The Mimic," Miss Edgeworth has thoughtless, flattery-seeking Frederick Montague, at the instigation of gossipy Mrs. Theresa Tattle, exchange his new blue suit for the sooty rags of one sweep-boy so that, with his face and hands blackened and his voice imitating the screeching tones of the lad whose clothes he wore, he might enter with a second young sweep the lodgings of Quaker Ephraim Eden and his sister Bertha to observe their manners and speech for mimicry before Mrs. Tattle and her friends. After kind Quaker Eden, who only a few hours earlier had pulled Frederick's sable-hued companion down a flue in which he was suffocating, gave each lad a present of some money and dismissed them, they rushed down the stairs to the servants' hall where Frederick began mimicking the man whose half-crown he was still clutching in his fist. Indignant at this clowning at the expense of his benefactor, the real sweep proceeded to knock Frederick to the floor. The servants, discovering the true identity of the fallen boy, filled the house with their frightened cries. As soon as the blood stopped flowing, Frederick rose and begged Quaker Eden's pardon for his deceitful conduct and assured him that the sweep whose life he had saved was as duped as every one else by the

\* George L. Phillips, a member of the Department of English at San Diego State College, San Diego, California, has written extensively on the subject of chimney sweepers or "climbing boys."

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 36 (1947), 12-18.



rags and dirty features of his companion. After this shameful ordeal, young Frederick never again played the role of mimic.<sup>2</sup>

In 1854 the author of *Tit for Tat; or, American Fixings of English Humanity. By a Lady from New Orleans, U.S.*<sup>3</sup> noted:

That the children of the poor were bruised, beaten, bought, sold, stolen, tortured, and murdered, in order to supply the climbing-boy's system with victims, had been known for many years in a northern county of England before the committal of Mr. Thomas Burman for attempting to roast his climbing-boy, and yet none cared to interfere beyond a few insignificant Quakers, who were always dubbed "mad enthusiasts" whenever their conduct was mentioned . . . .<sup>4</sup>

Yet the "few insignificant Quakers" evinced perhaps more interest in helping the young pariahs than any other religious sect, not only in "a northern county" but throughout all England and even in the United States. In fact, *The Times*, on August 5, 1818, quoted an excerpt from a letter written to William Dillwyn of Walthamstow, from Roberts Vaux of Philadelphia, stating:

The substitution of Smart's (London) machine for sweeping chimnies, for climbing boys, is another benevolent contrivance for which we are indebted to you; and I take pleasure in assuring thee of its introduction here with every prospect of soon removing from this employment to better service those unfortunate and unpitied little black children, who have so long excited the notice of some of our citizens, travelling our streets in tattered garments during the most severe weather of our climate.

And in Birmingham, England, one of the most notorious cities for brutality to sweep-boys, the Quakers were busy in striving to put an end to the vicious practice of employing living-brushes: in a report of the committee of the Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing Boys, published in 1827, notice is taken that "Mr. John Cadbury of the Society of Friends, with others, established a steady man, not previously a chimney-sweeper, to

<sup>2</sup> Maria Edgeworth, "The Mimic," in *The Parent's Assistant*, London, 1796-1800.

<sup>3</sup> The authorship of this work is attributed to Matthew Estes or Marion Southwood, both American writers. The book was first published in London, by Clarke and Beeton, 1854(?) and later in New York, by Garret and Company, copyright 1856, and also in the same year by Dick and Fitzgerald. Although it passed through four editions, it is now a scarce item.

<sup>4</sup> English ed., p. 238. This edition is used throughout this paper.

clean chimneys with a machine."<sup>5</sup> So widespread became the work of the Friends in intervening on behalf of the friendless little sweeps that by 1851 Henry Mayhew, usually a careful compiler of facts, erroneously described the publication of *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boy's Album* as having been "got up in aid of the Society for the Supersedence<sup>6</sup> of Climbing Boys, by some benevolent Quaker ladies and others (the Quakers having been among the warmest supporters of the suppression of climbers)"<sup>7</sup> John Hollingshead, Mayhew's contemporary, in discussing the loop-holes of the Act of 1840, pointed out that since Parliament had not made any provisions for enforcing the Act, such prosecutions as were made came from sweeps with machines and Quakers.<sup>8</sup>

In *Tut for Tat*, a novel based for the most part on evidence presented before a select committee of the House of Lords in 1853, the author, provoked by the warm reception given in London to Harriet B. Stowe's abolitionist novels, bitterly attacked the custom of sending small white children up English flues long after such employment had been declared illegal by Parliament. In this propagandist work one of the few benevolent characters interested in guarding the health and safety of sweep-boys was William Wood, a Quaker, who was perhaps modeled after philanthropist William Wood (1782-1868), at one time deacon of the Congregational Church of Bowden, and who, according to *The Times* of March 11, 1868, would be long remembered,

in connection with his philanthropic efforts on behalf of the poor "climbing-boys," so long subjected to such barbarous cruelty and hard-

<sup>5</sup> *Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing Boys, by Encouraging a New Method of Sweeping Chimnies, and for Improving the Condition of Children and Others, Employed by Chimney Sweepers, Instituted on the Fourth of February, 1803* (Twelfth Report) London, 1827, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Mayhew's own term.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, 3 vols. in one, London, 1851, II, 372. For an account of the publication of *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boy's Album*, see the article of the same name in the Hunter Archaeological Society *Transactions*, 6 (1949), 221-32.

<sup>8</sup> John Hollingshead, *Miscellanies* (London, 1874).

ship. In unwearied labours in this cause, in much travelling over every part of the kingdom, and in undertaking the part of prosecutor in many cases where, otherwise, justice might have failed to reach the oppressors of poor friendless lads, Mr. Wood spent much money and gave the active labour of years.

Quaker Wood in *Tit for Tat* not only sent nourishing food and wines to sick and dying climbing-boys but also went into taverns to persuade the master chimney-sweeps to treat their boys as human beings. In one scene he located Master Chimney-Sweep Tom Burman, who had just pulled a dying boy out of a hot flue and was imbibing heavily to forget the loss of another apprentice, worth at least five shillings:

"Friend, hast thee got any chimney-sweeper in thy house of the name of Thomas Burman?"

"There is a chimney-sweeper and his boy in the tap-room," answered the keeper of a low public-house in Nottingham. The questioner was a mild and benevolent-looking person, advanced in years, a member, as his language imported, of the admirable society of Friends.

Yes, Men of America, in England, as in the United States, the mission of the Quakers is still benevolence, and mercy, and well-doing.

William Wood was the name of this worthy and excellent man, who, having spent his youth in honourable industry as a merchant, dedicated to God what was left of his old age; and, having seen the iniquities perpetrated under the climbing system, devoted what few years were left him to a humble endeavour to mitigate the atrocities committed under that system; and, if possible, to get respected the laws that had been enacted to remove this disgrace from Great Britain.<sup>9</sup>

After terrifying Tom Burman by informing him that he knew of other boys who had lost their lives in sweeping dangerous flues at his command, and warning him that the Society of Friends was determined to prosecute all offenders of the law, Quaker Wood persuaded the burly sweep to try a machine to replace his climbing-boy. Faced with the dismal prospect of transportation or of using a machine himself, Burman accepted William Wood's generous proposal that he purchase a machine on the proceeds of his daily earnings; and after some instruction in its use, he began to earn his livelihood through his own efforts and not through the cruel practice of forcing a boy to work for him. When Friend Wood, however, inquired if he might not undertake the expense of sending Burman's remaining appren-

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

tice to school, the sweep, apprehensive that the kidnapped boy might give his instructors some clue as to his noble birth, at once decamped with both boy and machine, which he soon threw away because so many thoughtless householders demanded that boys, not machines, be used in their narrow flues. Worried only about the rising prices for small boys, Burman laughingly waved aside his crony's fears of prosecution:

"B'ys is looking up now, you know, there is a new Act passed to make us sweep with machines. We shall have a difficulty presently to get boys at five shillings, for these cussed Quakers and other 'umanity-mongers will be sending informers about on purpose to carry out the new law."<sup>10</sup>

by pointing out that sweeps with boys would be safe:

"'Cos, don't you see, we've got the nobs in the same boat with us. The lords' houses, and the bishops' houses, and the magistrates' houses, and the cotton-spinners' mills and boilers, they all like their chimbleys swept best by boys; and they'll have 'em, too, make what laws you like. Rich people don't care about laws; they haves a pleasure in breaking them, I thinks."<sup>11</sup>

And so the noble efforts of worthy William Wood failed in setting up brutal Tom Burman as a mechanical chimney-sweeper.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

## THE WILLIAM WADE HINSHAW INDEX TO QUAKER MEETING RECORDS

BY LYMAN W. RILEY\*

THE NAME of William Wade Hinshaw (1867-1947), a Life Member of Friends Historical Association, is familiar to all who are interested in Quaker genealogy. The five volumes of his *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, an exhaustive abstract of the records of meetings in North Carolina, Philadelphia, New York City, Long Island, and Ohio, have proved themselves invaluable to genealogists and historians alike; the projected publication of a sixth volume dealing with Virginia meetings is eagerly awaited.

There remained unpublished at the time of Mr. Hinshaw's death a mass of genealogical data copied under his direction from the record books of 197 Quaker meetings throughout the United States. In order that this material might be made available to the public, Mrs. William Wade Hinshaw presented it to the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, together with funds sufficient to have the material typed on cards and to purchase six large metal cabinets in which to house the cards. After two years of work this rather formidable project has been completed.

The William Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records comprises over 200,000 cards, each card containing the name of a person and an item of genealogical interest about that person. The cards are arranged by meetings and alphabetically by name within each meeting. In most cases a brief history of the meeting is included in the file. Births, deaths, marriages, disownments, and removals are the principal kinds of data recorded. Reference is made on each card to the volume and page of the original record from which the item was copied.

Meetings included in the Index range from New Jersey to California. Pennsylvania meetings are Chester, Concord, Darby, Exeter, Frankford, Goshen, Gwynedd, Kennett, London Grove, New Garden, Philadelphia Northern District, Philadelphia

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\* Assistant in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Southern District, and Stroudsburg. Meetings in New Jersey include Evesham, Haddonfield, Mt. Holly, and Woodbury. Eighty-four meetings in Iowa, 49 in Kansas, 12 in California, and 9 in Nebraska make up the bulk of the rest of the Index, together with a few other meetings in Colorado, Idaho, Minnesota, Missouri, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Quaker historians and biographers as well as genealogists will find this Index of great usefulness. In particular, the Hinshaw Index and *Encyclopedia*, covering, as they do, two great sections of the United States—the East and the Middle West—should throw much light on the yet-to-be-told story of Quaker migrations westward.

Visitors to the Friends Historical Library are welcome to make use of the Index. Requests for information by mail, addressed to the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, will be turned over to competent genealogists, for whose services a charge of \$1.25 per hour is made, with a minimum charge of \$1.25 for each search.

## Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

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Hugh S. Barbour, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut. *Quakerism and Society, 1650-1725*. (The attitudes of early Quakers to "the world" as shown by their role in and statements on society, politics, and economics). Yale University: Religion, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1951. Research commenced.

Jewel Bellush, 130 West 16th Street, New York 11, N.Y. *Women in Abolition, 1830-1860*. (Includes Lucretia Mott and the Grimké sisters). Columbia University: History, thesis for M.A. degree, 1948.

Irving Brant, 3333 M Street, S.E., Washington 19, D. C. *A Biography of James Madison*. (Includes incidental references to Dolly Madison). Two volumes published (1941, 1948); third volume to be published, Spring, 1950.

Arthur R. Eady, 100 East 2nd Avenue, Indianola, Iowa. *A Study of Quaker Apologists and Critics, 1660-1725*. (Special emphasis on Robert Barclay and George Keith). Drake University: History; thesis for M.A. degree. Research commenced.

Joseph McDonald Ernest, Jr., Department of English, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. *John Greenleaf Whittier's Reading in American Literature*. University of Tennessee: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1951. Partially completed.

William Bacon Evans, P.O. Box 90, Moorestown, New Jersey. *Who was Who among Friends, called Quakers*. (To include those who have made significant contributions in any sphere). Work commenced (about 2700 names so far).

Alice Ford, 252 East 61st Street, New York 21, N. Y. *Edward Hicks, 1780-1849*. (Monograph on the life and painted works of the Quaker preacher and sign painter of Newtown, Pennsylvania). Publication expected in 1952.

Joseph Frank, 1224 Genesee Street, Rochester, New York. *The Correlation of the Politics, Ideas, and Styles of Lilburne, Overton, and Walwyn*. (Will consider Lilburne's Quakerism, the significance of



James Nayler, some of the forerunners of Quakerism, etc.). Harvard: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1952. Research nearly completed.

Karl Herbert Hertz, 529 South Drexel Avenue, Columbus 9, Ohio. Bible Commonwealth and Holy Experiment: A Study of the Relation between Theology and Politics in the Puritan and Quaker Colonies. University of Chicago: Social Thought, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1949.

Harold S. Jantz, Fisk Hall 207, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. The Collected Works of Francis Daniel Pastorius. (An edition of the *Beehive* and the shorter works of Pastorius).

Bettina S. Laycock, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham, England. Quaker Missions to Europe and the Near East, 1655-1665. Birmingham University: History, thesis for B.A. degree, 1950.

Henry F. Pommer, Department of English, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania. I Agree to That: A Personal Selection of Quaker Literature.

Herbert F. Ricard, 89-14 Parsons Boulevard, Jamaica 2, New York. The Journal of John Bowne. Text transcribed and editing under way.

Russell G. Schofield, Magnolia, Massachusetts. The Ranters in Seventeenth-Century England. (Contains frequent mention of and comparison with early Quakers). Harvard University: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1949.

Lulie A. Shaw, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham, England. Quakerism and the Family. (The influence of family life in the growth of Quakerism; religious education and preparation for the ministry; relationships within the family, including servants and apprentices; the position of women; the Quaker family in the post-Christian world). Research commenced.

Ann G. Shoemaker, 255 West Court Street, Doylestown, Pennsylvania. The Red Man and the Quaker. (Emphasizes the religious aspect of the life of the Indians of eastern North America and the influence of early Friends upon them). Completed.

Helen P. South, 226 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y. Johnson and the Quakers (A study of Samuel Johnson's relations with members of the Society of Friends and their comments on him). Virtually complete.

E. M. M. Taylor, Girton College, Cambridge, England. Enthusiasm before 1700, with Particular Reference to the Latter Half of the Seventeenth Century in England. (A general study of the place of enthusiastic elements in society, ancient, modern, and primitive, with special attention to the early Friends). Registered by the Cambridge University Research Board.

A. Gerald Whittier, 408 North 5th Street, Henryetta, Oklahoma. John of Haverhill. (An historical novel based on the life of John Greenleaf Whittier). Assembling material.

M. Fay Williams, 1 Montpelier Terrace, Swansea, Wales. The Society of Friends in Glamorganshire, 1654-1908. University of Wales; Welsh History, thesis for M.A. degree, 1950.

## Historical News

### Friends Historical Association

**T**HE ANNUAL Meeting of Friends Historical Association was held on Eleventh Month 28, 1949 at Friends Select School on The Parkway in Philadelphia. William Wistar Comfort, President of the Association, was in the chair and approximately 175 members and their guests were present.

Harris Haviland, Headmaster, welcomed the Association and called attention to an interesting historical exhibit prepared by the school for the occasion. President Comfort, in his report to the members, mentioned the Association's gift of a microfilm reader to the Library of the Society of Friends in London, and commented on the enlargement of the BULLETIN. A message of sympathy was sent to William Mintzer Wills, Treasurer of the Association, who was prevented by illness from attending. The following were elected to the Board of Directors for a three-year term ending in 1952: Samuel J. Bunting, Jr., William Wistar Comfort, Thomas E. Drake, Lydia F. Gummere, and Anna B. Hewitt.

Francis R. Bacon, Dean of the School of Architecture of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, was the speaker at this meeting. Having spent the past summer in the British Isles photographing and measuring meetinghouses, he spoke with authority and enthusiasm on "Early Quaker Meetinghouses in Britain," illustrating his lecture with colored slides. He especially singled out Brigflatts, Jordans, the Blue Idol, and Come-To-Good as typical examples of meetinghouses known to the First Publishers of Truth. At the conclusion of the talk, refreshments were served in the school dining room.

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The last number of the BULLETIN carried the announcement that Friends Historical Association had presented a microfilm reader to the Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, London, as a memorial to Rufus M. Jones. Letters of appreciation have been received from the Librarian and from

the Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting. In *The Friend* (London) for Eleventh Month 11, 1949 "Q. Q." writes that on the day of Meeting for Sufferings when the gift was announced, "the Librarian was kept busy showing relays of inquirers how the projector worked." He goes on to describe this useful instrument, more familiar perhaps to American library users than to our English friends: "It looks like a metal television set painted a 'battleship grey.' The strip or roll of film [on which the pages of a book or document are photographed] is placed across lenses, you focus the image, or the part of it you want to study on the illuminated screen, by turning knobs and handles at the side. One page or part of the document finished with, you turn a knob and another page or part appears."

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At its regular meeting on First Month 13, 1950 the Board of Directors elected L. Violet Holdsworth and Isabel Ross to Honorary Membership in Friends Historical Association. These two English Friends have made notable contributions to that important body of writing which in other religious traditions goes by the name of *hagiography* — the lives of the saints. L. Violet Holdsworth is known, of course, for the vividly-written sketches of seventeenth-century Friends which compose her *Book of Quaker Saints*, as well as for her separate biographies of Loveday Hambly, the Quaker saint of Cornwall, Luke Howard, the shoemaker of Dover, and Gulielma Penn, wife of the Founder of Pennsylvania. The name of Isabel Ross will immediately call to mind last year's most distinguished and widely-read Quaker biography, *Margaret Fell: Mother of Quakerism*.

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At the same meeting the Board granted permission to University Microfilms to issue a microfilm edition of the BULLETIN. This arrangement will enable libraries to keep the magazine on file at a great ultimate saving in space. Inquiries concerning this microfilm edition should be directed to University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

**REPORT OF THE TREASURER**

For the year 11th Month 15, 1948 to 11th Month 9, 1949

**RECEIPTS**

Cash on hand, 11 mo. 15, 1948 .....	\$1256.04	
Dues received—Current .....	\$1693.00	
Arrears .....	107.00	
Advance .....	42.00	
Life .....	50.00	1892.00
<i>Bulletins</i> .....		88.15
Interest on investments .....		177.50
Gifts — General .....	43.00	
R. M. Jones Memorial .....	522.50	
Lucretia Mott Diary .....	5.00	570.50

**DISBURSEMENTS**

		\$3984.19	3984.19
Annual Meetings 1948 .....	200.34		
1949 .....	8.50		
		208.84	
Spring Meeting .....		18.50	
<i>Bulletin</i> —two issues .....		929.70	
Editor's Fee .....		300.00	
Miscellaneous (including \$60.00 for investment) ....		306.21	
R. M. Jones Memorial .....		522.50	
		2285.75	2285.75

Cash Balance on Deposit with Girard Trust Company	1698.44
Appropriated for Publication Fund \$ 200.00	
Available for Current Expenses .....	1498.44
	\$1698.44

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM MINTZER WILLS, *Treasurer*

Examined and found correct:

EDWARD WOOLMAN  
H. JUSTICE WILLIAMS

**INVESTMENT ACCOUNT**

\$1000.	St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad	
	Income 4½% Bond Due 2022	
33	Shares Philadelphia Electric Co.	
30	Shares Scranton Electric Co.	
41	Shares Chase National Bank	
	Book Value	\$4181.55
	Income Yield	\$180.20

### From Quaker Libraries

Haverford College has lately acquired the unpublished journal of George Churchman, who lived from 1730 to 1814 at Nottingham, Pennsylvania (now Maryland) and was one of the founders of Westtown School; the journal runs to some 800 quarto pages in eight volumes. Another important addition to the Quaker Collection at Haverford is a letter of John Woolman, dated Tenth Month 29, 1769, inquiring about a vessel bound for Barbados. The Cope Family Papers, recently given to the Collection, include manuscripts relating to Haverford College, the Society of Friends, and the philanthropic and business enterprises of Thomas P. Cope.

An oil painting of Joseph John Gurney has also come to Haverford; the painter, James Willits, is said to have sketched the portrait of Gurney while he was in a Quaker meeting. An interesting (and rare) title among recent accessions is *The Principles of the Protestant Religion Maintained and Churches of New-England . . . Defended, against All the Calumnies of One George Keith, a Quaker, in a Book Lately Published at Pennsylvania, to Undermine Them Both* (Boston, 1690), attributed to Cotton Mather.

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From the Custodian of Records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting at Guilford College word is received that another section of the lost original minutes of Perquimans Monthly Meeting has been recovered. It runs from Sixth Month, 1729 to Fifth Month, 1736. For an earlier like episode see this BULLETIN, 38 (1949), 50.

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Recent manuscript accessions at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College have included two original Quaker diaries or journals of especial interest and several collections of letters and papers of Quaker families. The manuscript journal of Elias Hicks is described in detail by Bliss Forbush earlier in this issue of the BULLETIN; along with this gift from Westbury Monthly Meeting came a number of manuscript drafts of letters and essays of Elias Hicks to be added to the large number of Hicks MSS already in the Library. The diary of

Miers Fisher, comprising fifteen small volumes covering the years 1805-1819, is a rather full record of both the outward weather and the "climate of opinion" in Quaker Philadelphia during the period.

A large collection (264 pieces) of Biddle family papers has recently come to the Library. The greater part of this collection consists of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary correspondence of Owen Biddle (1737-1799), the "Free Quaker" who was later one of the founders of Westtown School. The Alston MSS include a ledger containing the Treasurer's accounts of Appoquinimink Meeting; this account book is of especial significance as the only official record of this Delaware meeting known to be extant.

## Book Reviews

*The Quaker Story.* By Sidney Lucas. Foreword by C. E. M. Joad.  
New York: Harper & Brothers in association with Pendle Hill. 1949.  
144 pages. \$1.75.

SIDNEY LUCAS has succeeded admirably in writing a short history of Quakerism—in some respects a more difficult task than to write a long one. Following, in the main, the methods and conclusions of the longer Quaker histories, he has produced a readable and fresh book which will be useful to put in the hands of inquirers and valuable for those who are more familiar with the records. The work is well-proportioned, although this reviewer would have appreciated a longer concluding chapter on "Modern Times" with some reference to the current religious stress on man's Inward Darkness over against the Quaker belief in the Inward Light. Space for this might have been made by curtailing his longest chapter, "Extending the Society of Friends," by adopting another method than the country-by-country and colony-by-colony expansion.

This book should also be useful in adult discussion groups, for the author's candid appraisal of the weaknesses as well as the strength of the Quaker movement is most provocative. For example, persecution is shown to have been a factor in the Quietistic development and also to have been a refining fire making for vigor and expansion. Which role did persecution play? Or did it play both roles? And what about Quietism? Is the author too severe in his judgment?

Sidney Lucas has a gift for telling phrases such as: "a robust universal message, dwindled into a domestic homily"; "[the Society] tended to become a monument rather than a movement"; "[with the Quietists] God was becoming a Principle not a Person, a Great Abstract, not a still small voice." Possibly we might have been spared: "The early leaders crossed the seas, the later one [s?] dotted the i's" (p. 104). The "Fifth Monarchy" of the extreme Puritan sect was held to be foretold not in "Revelation" (p. 68) but in the Book of Daniel. But these are very minor matters. The total impression left by reading the book is that of solid worth.

Valuable appendixes include sample Advices and Queries, a good bibliography and an index.

*Hartford Theological Seminary*

ALEXANDER C. PURDY



*John Greenleaf Whittier: Friend of Man.* By John A. Pollard. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. xviii, 615 pages. \$6.00.

THIS NEW biography of Whittier strikes me as a compilation of facts gathered with conscientious and scholarly accuracy but assembled badly. I do not find it as valuable a book as the authorized biography by Pickard, or as Mr. Mordell's brilliant *Quaker Militant*. It is, of course, better than Whitman Bennett's innocuous effort of 1941, and it is miles above the superficial and inaccurate "narrative biography" of F. S. Smith (1948).

Mr. Pollard's biography gets off to a bad start: the Introduction does not tell us what are the special features which he hopes will make his new treatment of Whittier significant. Has he had access to new material? Has he found some new approach? His silence on these points is surprising and, I fear, significant. Instead, his Introduction contains the boastful but vague statement: "What follows is believed to be an accurate and definitive account of his life." Unhappily this word *definitive* has been picked up and repeated in the publisher's blurb on the jacket. This biography will never be definitive.

The style is so labored that this reviewer soon tired of marking little verbal infelicities, and after reading for a few hours he turned back to Pickard's masterpiece for a breath of fresh air.

The mechanical arrangement of the book is exasperating: there are twenty-eight chapters, each divided into several numbered sections; and the notes, which are at the back of the book, are so obscurely related to the text that a reader must use his utmost vigilance to prevent confusing note three of section one of Chapter II with the text of, say, Chapter I, section three. There is no excuse for this; contrast the perfection with which text and end-notes are related to each other in Rusk's *Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1949).

There is a further mechanical difficulty: the reader seldom wants to consult the merely documentary notes, once he is convinced that Mr. Pollard's references to his sources are precise; but intermixed with these mere documentary references are a number of really important factual notes, which the close reader must absorb but which, I repeat, are scrambled with them at the back of the book. A few years ago, it was well enough to mix mere documentation and biographical information in notes then printed at the foot of each page of text; but now, when the high cost of printing requires that all critical apparatus be printed at the end of the book, this mixture has become unbearable. There are (if my adding machine works correctly) 1,341 notes at the end of Mr. Pollard's biography, each one of which the scholarly reader must turn to on the chance that it contains information which should have been incorporated in the text.

Further analysis of the documentation reveals another weakness: Mr. Pollard's debt to the authorized biography by Pickard is so great

that in each of the first three chapters he has to acknowledge it at least fifteen times, in addition to his debt to *Whittier-Land*, also by Pickard. But this is not the worst: a random dip into the documentation of Chapter XXII shows no less than twenty-seven references to facts derived from, or supported by, Pickard. Why try to rewrite the great authorized biography?

In addition, a little of the documentation is immature. For example, the brief illustrative quotation (p. 35) from *Paradise Regained* needs no documentation; but if Mr. Pollard must document it, then he should refer to book and line, which any reader can verify in any edition of Milton; instead he naively refers us to: "*The Student's Milton*, ed. Frank A. Patterson (New York, 1931), 368."

The Index (very full) is arranged in small type, three columns to a page, without proper headings, I think, and surely without suitable indentation. Let the reader of this review try to track down, through the Index, Mr. Pollard's comments on "The Brewing of Soma,"—and see how long it takes to get the information.

As the book progresses, it gradually becomes more important. (I have no sympathy with another reviewer who said to skip the first thirteen chapters.) For one thing, the style improves—or perhaps the reader gets worn down—but I think the style really does improve.

Further, there are several good chapters, some of which have a little more information than is found in Pickard's biography, and others which may be better balanced than the corresponding chapters in Mr. Mordell's *Quaker Militant*. The best of these are, I think:

XXII A Man among Men

XXIII A Man among Women

XXIV A Poet's Revisions.

Finally, I want to record my opinion that the many (though scattered) references to Whittier's religious poems are mature and adequate.

Haverford College

EDWARD D. SNYDER

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*Gwynedd Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1699-1949.* Obtainable from A. L. Martin, Lansdale, Pennsylvania. 64 pages. Illustrations. \$1.00.

*Abington Friends Meeting and School, 1682-1949.* By Horace Mather Lippincott. Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The author. 84 pages. Illustrations. \$2.00.

THESE TWO pamphlets from neighboring meetings in the same county of Pennsylvania have come to hand at about the same time. For local meetings expecting an anniversary, whether in 1950 or later

(and such events are always coming around), the Gwynedd record can be recommended as a model. The historical sketch is written with good balance, including both general features of Quakerism over 250 years and local data. A short history of the Friends School follows. The bibliography includes both manuscript minutes and printed items. There is a list of present meeting members, and the program and list of committees for the 250th anniversary celebration, held on October 15, 1949. Presumably it is to the Committee on Research and Publication that we are indebted for this creditable anonymous publication.

The substantial and attractively printed pamphlet on Abington Meeting was written and published by Horace M. Lippincott to celebrate the 250th anniversary of a meeting which had enjoyed similar celebrations in 1899, 1929, 1933 and 1947. It is filled with the available historical details and with characteristic reflections, quotations, anecdotes, and reminiscences, the last being of particular value. The meeting began in 1683 at the house of Richard Wall. In recent years its membership has grown very large. The school dates back to a bequest of John Barnes in 1697. It is the meetinghouse that dates back to 1699. The writer casts his net rather wider than strictly local history. The sister monthly meeting of the "Orthodox" branch, though of the same name and ancestry, is not dealt with.

Harvard University

HENRY J. CADBURY

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*Bring Out Your Dead: The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793.* By J. H. Powell. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. xvi, 304 pages. \$3.75.

Now, alas, the joyful city is become almost desolate; and she that was great in traffic is much forsaken! . . . Many still continue to be removed by death; and none know whose turn will be next. This great plain dealer visits alike the humble cottage and the splendid dome, and executes his commission according to the divine will.

THESE WERE the reflections of a pious Quaker in the midst of the frightful epidemic of yellow fever that afflicted Philadelphia in 1793. John Powell in his brilliant and gruesome book does not cite Joshua Cresson's solemn *Meditations*, though he is undoubtedly familiar with them along with the multiplicity of other source materials upon which he has levied to recreate Philadelphia's plague year in nightmarish clarity and horror. It is all here—the appalling shrieks and groans, the revolting and pathetic sights, the intolerable smells, the cowardice, the hysteria, the tragedy, and the heroism of that memorable year in which more than five thousand Philadelphians were swept away in the space of a few months.

Among the heroes of John Powell's macabre piece are a number of Friends who remained in the shuddering city doing their best to relieve suffering (there were other Friends, it should be noted, who promptly fled to more salubrious spots in the country). Caleb Lownes, Thomas Wistar, and Thomas Harrison signed personal notes for the loan which enabled harassed Mayor Mathew Clarkson to marshal his forces against the dread visitant and they did yeoman service on the *ad hoc* committee which acted as a kind of volunteer general staff when the regular city government disintegrated. Three younger Friends—James Wilson, Jacob Tomkins, and William Sansom, Guardians of the Poor—worked indefatigably to supply the needs of the indigent. Fatalities among Friends exceeded four hundred; Joshua Cresson whose somber but impressive *Meditations* recorded the Quaker reaction to the pestilence, was one of the victims.

The doctors, working in the dark in those days before Walter Reed, naturally play a central role in the story, as they plod wearily about the streets, visiting their patients, exposing themselves constantly to infection, and differing violently over the proper treatment of the mysterious fever. Quaker doctors like Caspar Wistar and Samuel Powel Griffiths bore their part alike in the sacrificial labor and in the heated controversies. John Powell's two medical heroes, however, are Dr. Jean Devèze, the brilliant French refugee from the West Indies, who was amazingly right about the management of yellow fever cases and, more especially, Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was "tragically, frightfully" (Powell's own words) wrong about it. I can agree with the author that as a personality Rush was unfailingly interesting and, further, that he was unquestionably heroic in his single-minded devotion to duty. But the eloquent defense of Rush the physician (pp. 213-215) leaves me unpersuaded: I find it impossible to accept so exalted an estimate of the man who persisted doggedly, almost monomaniacally, in prescribing his massive and debilitating doses of mercury and jalap for scores of men and women whose bodies were already wracked by disease and weakened by blood-letting. But this is only to quarrel with one point—though a central one—in his interpretation. With his mastery of horrid but accurate detail, with the vividness of his writing, with his ability to tell an absorbing story there can be no quarrel.

F. B. T.

## Briefer Notices

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

To other recent studies of sectaries parallel to the rise of Quakerism may be added *John Wildman, Plotter and Postmaster* by Maurice Ashley (London: Jonathan Cape, 1947, 319 pages). Wildman (1623-1693) was at one time a Leveller and an associate of John Lilburne.

\* \* \*

"George Fox and the Rise of Quakerism in the Bishoprick" is an acute study of the special local circumstances of early Quakerism and it illustrates what can be done by one qualified with special knowledge. It is contributed by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, to the *Durham University Journal*, 36 (1944), 94-97.

\* \* \*

Two letters and a poem by Prudence Crandall, the letters being written in 1886 to Dr. George Harris Richardson, when the author was Mrs. Calvi Philleo, are published in *Negro History Bulletin*, 13 (1945), 15.

\* \* \*

In *The Unbroken Thread* (London: Collins, 1949, 320 pages) the septuagenarian British statesman, Viscount Templewood (Samuel John Gurney Hoare), makes a study of the men and women of the five generations of his family who preceded him in Norfolk. Up till the nineteenth century those on his father's side were Quakers, bankers and philanthropists, Gurneys, Barclays and Hoares. This background is much like Hoare's *Gurneys of Earham*. Strangely enough, the later part is mainly connected with birds and bird shooting.

\* \* \*

*A History of Wilmington College*, published at Wilmington, Ohio, 1949 (47 pages, illustrated), has been written by Dr. O. F. Boyd, who has been at the college as student, teacher, etc., since 1908. It reviews the story of Franklin College (1863-1870) and of the twelve administrations of the Friends' college which succeeded it. The several buildings and departments are also described as a history should describe them.

\* \* \*

An excellent biography (with portrait) of "Thomas Parke, M.D., Physician and Friend" by Whitfield J. Bell is published in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 6 (1949), 569-595. This Philadelphian, born in East Caln in 1749 and educated in medicine at Edinburgh, was a useful, solid, public-spirited citizen and remained a consistent Friend until his death in 1835. He married Rachel Pemberton of the influential Quaker family and was at his death president and last surviving founder of the College of Physicians.

The *Sherbrooke Daily Record* for October 21, 1949, prints a paper written ten years ago by the late Professor George A. Barton about Quakerism in his Canadian birthplace. It is entitled "Recollections of Some of the Members of Farnham Preparative Meeting of Friends."

\* \* \*

Full publication of Quaker minute books is not a usual practice in either England or America and is not to be generally encouraged. But a few typical ones are printed and are useful. A new example is *The First Minute Book of Gainsborough Monthly Meeting, 1669-1719*, Vol. I, edited by Harold W. Brace (Lincoln Record Society, 38 [1948], xxiii, 149 pages). The persons involved are not noteworthy and the items of business are usually intentions of marriage, collections for charity (including one in 1684 for the redemption of captives in Algiers), delinquency, etc. This volume is to be completed by two others. It is, however, separately indexed. A useful general introduction is in this volume. An appendix is reserved for Vol. 3.

\* \* \*

What must be accounted a major addition to the tools of Quaker historiography is the mimeographed *Index of Persons and Places in "The Friends' Library"* (Wallingford, Penna.: Pendle Hill, 1949, 366 pages). Biographies—long or short—of over 100 persons were included in the 14 volumes of this classic set published in Philadelphia from 1837 to 1850. But the persons and places mentioned in these volumes amount to some thirteen thousand. To record and verify all these references was a labor which will deserve the thanks of future generations of users.

\* \* \*

*Bacon's Adventure* by Herbert Marion Bacon (New York: The Bankers Press, 1948, 197 pages) is largely a Quaker record, including (1) his parents Josiah and Caroline Wood Bacon and their family life at Catanungut near Greenwich, N. J., between 1870 and 1896; (2) the genealogy of the Bacon family before and after Samuel Bacon who settled near there in 1683 in a place called "Bacon's Adventure"; and (3) the genealogy of the Wood family with which the Bacon family was intermarried.

\* \* \*

*The Coffin Saga* by William E. Gardner (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1949, 321 pages) is a difficult book to describe. It has the subtitle "Nantucket's Story—from Settlement to Summer Visitors." It includes much historical information about a famous family—largely Quaker in its most flourishing years—with authentic documents and photogravure illustrations. Yet its partly fictitious style makes it difficult to evaluate.

Rosalie Fellows Bailey contributes to the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* an extended article on "The Willetts Family of Flushing, Long Island," 80 (1949), 1 ff., 83 ff., 156 ff., 220 ff. One branch of the family that was Quaker and largely moved to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, is especially traced in the last two instalments.

\* \* \*

Robert H. Frazier's article on "Nantucket and North Carolina" in the Alumni Journal Number of the *Guilford College Bulletin*, Vol. 42, No. 10 (October, 1949) describes the migration and descendants of Nantucketeers who came to North Carolina about a century and three quarters ago, with a general account of the island before and since.

\* \* \*

*Seventeenth Century Maryland: a Bibliography*, compiled by Elizabeth Baer (Baltimore: The John Work Garrett Library, 1949) is a de luxe book for bibliophiles, as it represents the collection of one of them, the late John Work Garrett. It describes with title-page facsimiles 209 writings dealing in some way with Maryland and dated between 1612 and 1700. Mention is relevant here because the Quakers with thirty titles constitute one of the principal subjects.

\* \* \*

A detailed and well-documented evaluation of Dr. George Logan's private mission to France designed to prevent war between that country and the United States is written by Frederick B. Tolles and published in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 7 (1950), 3-25. This Philadelphian and former Quaker was deeply concerned for peace when in 1798 France's actions and much American opinion were tending to war. As thanks for his pains the Logan Act was passed by Congress, making such unofficial negotiation by Americans with a foreign government still illegal.

\* \* \*

Announcement has been made by the University of Pennsylvania of the gift to its library by C. Sharpless Pastorius of Redlands, California, of the *Beehive*, a comprehensive manuscript compiled by Francis Daniel Pastorius, one of the Quaker founders of Germantown. The manuscript is written in a fine clear hand and extends to about 800 folio pages. There is more than one index. It is one of the most important unpublished literary manuscripts of colonial America.

\* \* \*

Ernestine C. Milner contributes an article in the Alumni Journal of the *Guilford College Bulletin*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (January, 1950), on "Dolly Madison's Parents at New Garden." For good measure the Quaker connections of John and Mary Payne in Virginia are reviewed as well as the four years in North Carolina during which Dolly was born.



Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert has contributed lately three historical articles to Alumni Journal numbers of the *Guilford College Bulletin*, one on "Uncle Joe Cannon's Connections with Guilford," in Vol. 41, No. 6 (June, 1948); another on "The Significance of November Twelfth in Guilford's History," in Vol. 42, No. 1 (January, 1949). The latter refers to the selection of November 12, 1831, as Founders Day. A third is on "The Planting of Quakerism in Piedmont Carolina," in Vol. 43, No. 1 (January, 1950). Probably no other Quaker college reminds its alumni of its Quaker history as fully as these and other articles listed in these notices do for Guilford.

*Les Prix Nobel en 1947* (Stockholm, 1949), the annual of the Nobel prizes, includes an account of the award to the Friends Service Council and the American Friends Service Committee of the Peace Prize for 1947, with the addresses of the President of the Nobel Committee, Gunnar Jahn, the responses of Margaret Backhouse and Henry J. Cadbury, the addresses at the banquet by Mr. Jahn and Miss Backhouse, a brief description of the two committees and public lectures delivered at Oslo by Margaret A. Backhouse, Henry J. Cadbury and Emily G. Balch, co-winner of the Peace Prize in 1946. For other speeches connected with Miss Balch's award see *Les Prix Nobel en 1946*.

A series of passages about Nantucket taken from the recently recovered Journal of George Churchman of East Nottingham, Maryland, is contributed by Henry J. Cadbury to the *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association, 1949, pp. 47-50, under the title "An Off-Islander's Impressions, 1781."

Helen E. Wright, the biographer of Maria Mitchell, is the author of an excellent sketch of the life of Maria's father, William Mitchell (1791-1869) of Nantucket. A birthright Friend, he sided in 1845 with the Gurneyites and was disowned by the Wilburites then dominant on the island. His diverse gifts are described. He was particularly able as a scientist and as a lecturer. The article is published in the *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association, 1949, pp. 33-46.

Among the sixteen scholars, half of them British, dealt with in W. F. Howard's *The Romance of New Testament Scholarship* (London: Epworth Press, 1949) one is J. Rendel Harris (1852-1941). The author, who knew him personally as a neighbor, deals with the devotional writings as well as with those on early Christian literature (pp. 92-104).

As was to be expected, the Society of Friends receives a modest amount of attention, especially in the section on Pennsylvania (pp. 25-35, cf. 17 f. on North Carolina) in A. L. Drummond, *Story of American*

*Protestantism* (Edinburgh, 1948). To the author's credit be it said that he quotes for the hoax that it is the letter of Cotton Mather about William Penn (p. 25).

\* \* \*

Just to keep the record straight, the suspected letter of Cotton Mather about William Penn, often mentioned in this BULLETIN (e. g., 1 [1906] 89), has been published again as though genuine in *The Ladies Home Journal* for September, 1949, and in *The American Friend*, January 19, 1950.

\* \* \*

*Peter Harrison, First American Architect* by Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1949, 195 pages, illustrated) is a handsome pioneer study of the man who designed famous buildings in Newport, Boston, Cambridge and in Charleston, S. C. He was born in 1716 in York in a Quaker family, and came to Newport in 1739, where he became a member of Trinity Church (Anglican). He died in 1775.

\* \* \*

Janet Payne Whitney from her experience with Elizabeth Fry and John Woolman contributed an essay, "On Writing Biography," to *Schoolmen's Week*, April, 1948. It is published in the *University of Pennsylvania Bulletin*, 48 (1948), 256-265.

\* \* \*

The Union Church of Northeast Harbor, Maine, published an address given there on August 22, 1948, by Samuel A. Eliot, *A Faithful Friend*, Rufus M. Jones.

\* \* \*

In Douglas V. Steere's *Doors into Life Through Five Devotional Classics* (New York: Harper, 1948) one chapter deals with the Journal of John Woolman (pp. 89-118).

\* \* \*

*American Spiritual Autobiographies: Fifteen Self-Portraits*, edited by Louis Finkelstein (New York: Harper, 1948) includes in a very varied list of notables, Rufus M. Jones (pp. 121-130). Like the others, he prepared a sketch of the formative influences in his religious life. For each contributor there is a portrait and a biographical sketch.

\* \* \*

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has one of the largest collections of manuscripts in America and also one of the largest collections on Quakerism. For that reason mention is made of the second edition of the useful *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (1949, unpagged). It shows an increase of 60 percent over the holdings listed in the first edition a decade ago.

Two hitherto unpublished letters of John Bright in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College are published with careful explanation and notes by Frederick B. Tolles in *Notes and Queries*, 194 (1949), 566-568. One dated in 1861 is to Charles Sturge urging that the Trent affair between England and the United States be settled by arbitration; the second, to Horace Greeley of New York in 1866, gives Bright's reaction to the American scene in that critical year.

\* \* \*

Margaret Hill (1737-1816), widow of William Morris, was living in Burlington, New Jersey, at one of the decisive moments in the American Revolution, and, though a Friend, she left a vivid journal that covers much of the military movement of the period between December 6, 1776, and the middle of June, 1777. This was printed in small private editions in 1836, 1854, and 1865 and in this BULLETIN in 1919 (Vol. 9). It has been now edited by John W. Jackson, from the original manuscript in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library and entitled *Margaret Morris Her Journal with Biographical Sketch and Notes* (Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1949, 132 pages, illustrated), and published in an edition of 500 copies.

\* \* \*

*Carl Patterson: A Biography and Extracts of Writings*, 1949 (86 pages) is an unpretentious but inclusive memorial to the life of a member of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Conservative) who was a well-educated minister and banker. His life (1873-1942) was mostly lived at Chesterhill, Ohio. His travels in the ministry included in 1932 a visit to England, Ireland, and Europe with W. Mifflin Hall. Extracts from his letters during this memorable journey occupy nearly half the pamphlet and will perhaps have the widest interest. Other extracts are from public addresses. The compilation is apparently the work of his children and is done with taste and judgment.

\* \* \*

In the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 59 (1949), 89-160, Henry J. Cadbury has published an article on "John Hepburn and His Book Against Slavery, 1715." This most radical of the early writings against slavery is the last to be reprinted, which is now done in facsimile of the original on pages 113-160. The introductory essay includes an estimate of the book and of its literary relations, and a fragmentary account of the author. Apart from the evidence of the book itself, knowledge of the man is based upon scattered archival references to John Hebron or Hepburn, a tailor, who came to East Jersey from Scotland in 1684, married, and lived to a ripe old age. Fortunately definite evidence that he was a Friend is included. The article is available as a separate pamphlet.

## ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

BY LYMAN W. RILEY

*Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College*

### *The American Friend*

"Caesars Creek Centennial" by Edith L. Haines is a brief outline of the history of Caesars Creek Monthly Meeting, Wilmington, Ohio.—Nov. 10, 1949, p. 363.

### *The Evangelical Friend*

Louise Ellett sketches the history of Damascus Meeting, Damascus, Ohio.—Sept., 1949, pp. 7-8.

### *The Friend* (London)

The great-granddaughter of Luke Howard, F.R.S., tells briefly of the contact between Howard and Goethe, who admired the English Quaker not only for his meteorological work but also for his religious faith; "Goethe and the Quakers" by Elizabeth F. Howard.—Aug. 26, 1949, pp. 686-687.

Stephen J. Thorne, Recording Clerk of London Yearly Meeting, outlines the history of the Meeting for Sufferings in explanation of the origin of the name and its appropriateness for the present.—Sept. 16, 1949, pp. 749-751.

### *The Friend* (Philadelphia)

In "Friends and the *Imitation* Again," Henry J. Cadbury notes that many Friends, including as prominent ones as Penn and Woolman, were very familiar with and influenced by this devotional classic.—Nov. 3, 1949, pp. 134-135.

Margaret Pascoe, high school exchange teacher from England, graphically describes the life of the people in "The England of William Penn."—Nov. 17, 1949, pp. 151-152.

Leslie D. Shaffer describes the "Doukhobor Jubilee" of July, 1949, which celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of these refugees from Russia.—Dec. 1, 1949, p. 169. (Also in the *Friends Intelligencer*, Sept. 10, 1949, pp. 505-506, and *The Canadian Friend*, Oct., 1949, pp. 3-4, 16).

### *Friends Intelligencer*

The rise and fall of Quakerism in Nantucket is recounted by Fritz Eichenberg in "Quakers and Whalers in Nantucket"; he suggests that the isolation and pride of the islanders had much to do with the breakup of the Friends meetings there.—Sept. 24, 1949, pp. 532-534.

Elizabeth Marshall announces the "250th Anniversary of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, Pa." and tells of a few incidents in the meeting's history.—Oct. 1, 1949, p. 549.

Job Scott, Quaker minister of the 18th century, might have been a "quietist" Friend, but according to contemporary accounts his preaching, physically, was vigorous and uninhibited; "Coatless Quietist" (Letter from the Past No. 104).—Oct. 1, 1949, p. 550.

Katherine Seeler and Robert J. Leach contribute additional data about Quakerism in Nantucket, to supplement and correct Fritz Eichenberg's article of Sept. 24, 1949; "More About Nantucket."—Nov. 12, 1949, pp. 641-642.

"Elias Hicks in 1813: Notes from the Diary of Miers Fisher" by Frederick B. Tolles quotes comments on Hicks, partly doubtful and partly favorable, by Miers Fisher (1748-1819), a Philadelphia Quaker lawyer.—Dec. 3, 1949, p. 680.

"Now and Then" remarks that Friends usually called Washington General rather than President, but in spite of his being a man of war they admired and respected him; "General Washington" (Letter from the Past No. 105).—Dec. 10, 1949, pp. 699-700.

A great deal of George Fox's time was taken up with lobbying activities, for the earliest Friends, no less than those of today, were filled with a "Concern for National Legislation" (Letter from the Past, No. 106).—Dec. 17, 1949, pp. 715-716.

### *The Friends Quarterly*

Evelyn Southall Whiting finds, in "Thomas Traherne: Poet: Contemporary of George Fox," that this Church of England clergyman shared much of the spirit and even some of the views of George Fox.—Jan., 1949, pp. 56-64.

Brian Sparkes reminisces admiringly about several prominent Quaker teachers of a generation ago, in an article he calls "'Others Have Laboured.'" April, 1949, pp. 70-82.

"A Mother in Israel" by T. Edmund Harvey is an appreciative interpretation of the life of Margaret Fell, based on the recent biography *Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism*, by Isabel Ross.—July, 1949, pp. 182-189.

Maurice Creasey, in his article "A Reasonable Faith," discusses the book of that name by Francis Frith, William Edward Turner, and William Pollard, published in London in 1884. He suggests that the issues raised then, and hotly argued, are worthy of attention today.—Oct., 1949, pp. 196-206.

"One Hundred Years of Friends' Service in East London" by John Hoare tells of the philanthropic work of Peter Bedford and sketches the history of the Bedford Institute Association which began in 1849.—Oct., 1949, pp. 207-215.

Raymond Garlick, in "On Thomas Ellwood," points out the "quiet, minor place in the history of English letters" occupied by this 17th century Quaker poet.—Oct., 1949, pp. 249-255.

"The Spirit of Witchcraft," Lulie A. Shaw finds, was of considerable concern to George Fox; his belief in witches and the Devil indicates his profound understanding of the problem of human evil.—Jan., 1950, pp. 46-54.

In "A Moslem Diplomat and the Quakers" Henry J. Cadbury speculates on the nature of an interview which took place in 1682 between George Fox, accompanied by three other friends, and the Ambassador from the Emperor of Morocco; the occasion is mentioned in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* but is nowhere described in detail.—Jan., 1950, pp. 55-59. (Also in the *Friends Intelligencer*, Jan. 7, 1950, pp. 7-8).

*Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*

Muriel F. Lloyd Prichard concludes her study of "Norfolk Friends' Care of Their Poor, 1700-1859," giving special attention to education and apprenticeship and to the problems of membership and disownment. Summing up, she observes that "a *bona fide* Quaker seeking charity outside the Society [in Norfolk] would have been a remarkable sight."—40 (1948), 3-19.

Two additions to his "Swarthmore Documents in America" (1940) are printed by Henry J. Cadbury: a letter of William Smith to George Fox, written in 1664, and one from Margaret Fox to her children, dated 1671. The originals are now in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library.—40 (1948), 25-31.

Isabel Grubb contributes some notes on William Edmundson's family and his second marriage.—40 (1948), 32-36.

In "The First Century of Quaker Printers," Russell S. Mortimer presents a useful sketch of the work of Giles Calvert, Andrew Sowle, Tace Raylton, and other less well-known Quaker printers between 1653 and 1749.—40 (1948), 37-49; 41 (1949), 74-84.

"John Wesley and John Bousell" by Frank Baker is a brief account of the relations between the founder of Methodism and a quondam Quaker who tried to reform that movement.—40 (1948), 50-53.

In "The Care of Quaker Records," Felix Hull discusses the problems of dampness, heat, vermin, insects, and other enemies of archives, and makes some useful observations on methods of storing and repairing meeting records.—41 (1949), 6-12.

L. Hugh Doncaster discusses "Early Quaker Thought on 'That State in which Adam was before he Fell,'" pointing out that the primitive Friends believed they were called to a condition of perfection comparable to and even better than Adam's pristine state; awareness of this belief helps explain certain early Quaker teachings, such as those on infallibility, the unity of all knowledge, and the equality of men and women.—41 (1949), 13-24.

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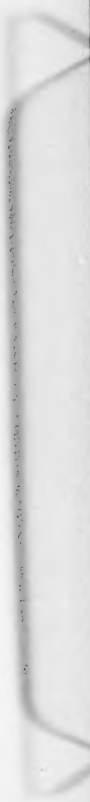
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# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN QUAKER GENEALOGY

BY WILLIAM WADE HINSHAW

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